16 PAGES
IS 75

AL-FAJR

JERUSALEM

PALESTINIAN WEEKLY

(USPS 686-630

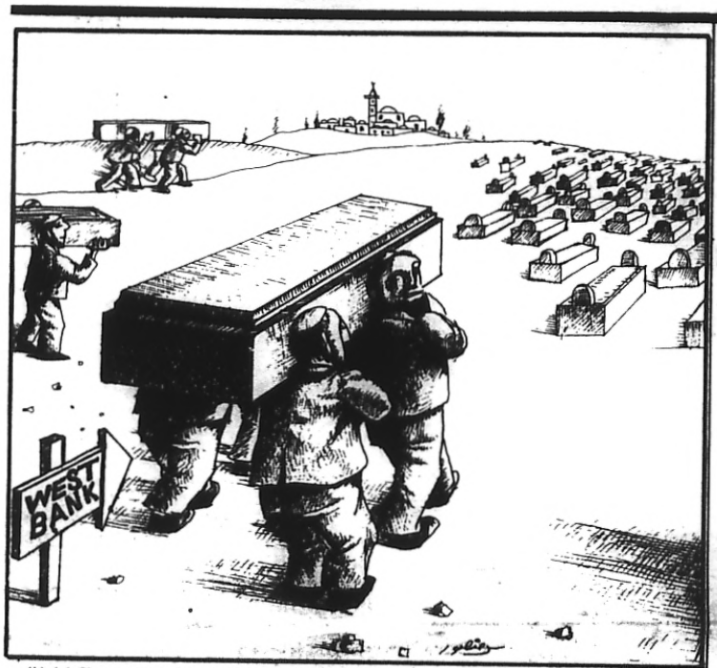
POSTMASTER
Send address changes to:
Al-Fajr
2025 I Street N.W.
Washington, D.C.
20006

exp. 85/04
Serial Records Division
Harvard College Library
Cambridge, Mass. 021..

13, 1984
/NO.206

TO OUR READERS:

In compliance with the Israeli military authorities, and under the guise of the much criticized "Emergency Regulations" of 1945, Al-Fajr is required to submit all material prepared for publication in this weekly, and also in the Arabic Daily and Bi-Weekly Hebrew Edition, to the Israeli censorship authorities, who use this blanket authority excessively. The material appearing on pages labeled with letters has all been censored and expunged by the Israeli authorities. We found it necessary and relevant to publish it on these pages in the foreign edition.



"Ariel Sharon says there will be one million Israelis in the West Bank by the year 2000."

Israel Brings Dead to Settle WB

Jerusalem plans to bury most of its Jewish dead in the future in a new West Bank cemetery near Ma'ale Adumim, *The Jerusalem Post* has learned.

According to plans being discussed in various planning forums, the cemetery will be built outside the municipal boundaries on the new road from Ma'ale Adumim to French Hill.

A source involved in the search for a new cemetery for Jerusalem said the various bodies involved in the plans were aware of the political consequences of their decision. The source said that one person saw it in a "positive light," adding that a major cemetery "would increase our hold" on the area.

"It's like a settlement, only stronger," this person reportedly said.

Ephraim Shilo, the interior ministry official who deals with Jerusalem affairs, said April 4, "there was no other alternative" to the site in Ma'ale Adumim. Jerusalem's main cemeteries for Jews, Har Hamenuhot and the Mount of Olives, are nearly full. Previous attempts to win planning approval for the main cemetery within the 'green line,' near Moshav Aminadav, ran into objections from the Mateh Yehuda Regional Council.

The four authorities involved in planning the cemetery are the Jerusalem municipality, the housing ministry, the West Bank Civilian Administration planning officers and the interior ministry.

The cemetery is to be built on a plot one kilometre to the northwest of the junction between the Jerusalem-Jericho road and the new road from Ma'ale Adumim to French Hill.

The land is part of a 3000-dunum plot that was declared state land in 1982 but it was only formally recognised as such last year because there were appeals, which were rejected, from Palestinians who claimed ownership of the land.

Only 320 dunums of this stretch of land will be used. Planning of the first 100 dunums is already underway, and a subcommittee of the Jerusalem Planning and Construction Committee visited the site on April 2.

The 350-dunum plot should supply Jerusalem's need for cemetery space for about 50 years. About 2000 Jews are buried in Jerusalem every year. Shilo said that about 250 graves are placed in each dunum, which means that with extra paths and services, the city needs about five to six dunums of burial space for Jews every year. (Reprint: The Jerusalem Post, April 5, 1984)

Faisal Husseini, head of the Arab Studies Centre in Jerusalem, said the cemetery plan is part of the campaign to block any possible Israeli withdrawal. "If Israel is pressured to withdraw and dismantle the settlements who would have to transfer bones of the dead?" he said. Husseini, calling the cemetery move part of the Israeli *fait accompli*, said that the plan is part of "Zionist policy to force Jews into Arab land."

IN THIS ISSUE

DFLP lays prisoner exchange conditions p.2
Publishing license denied. p.3
Sartawi remembered p.5
West Bank chambers of commerce p.7
Interview with Faisal Husseini and Willy Gafni ..... pp.8&9
Palestinian industry suffering. p.10
Politics of Palestinian and Israeli literature p.13
Freedom fighters or terrorists p.16

To our readers: For technical reasons *Al Fajr* Weekly will appear on Friday mornings from now on.

US Backing Israel's Pacification Plans

US government aid to the occupied territories is used to "pacify Palestinians" and free Israeli funds possibly for settlement purposes, according to a report by Meron Benvenisti, director of the West Bank Data Base Project, published this week.

Benvenisti reached these conclusions after a comprehensive survey of the 358 projects submitted for Israeli approval between 1971 and 1983 by US private voluntary organisations operating in the occupied territories. The PVOs are responsible for dispensing US aid moneys allotted by Congress.

Israel, Benvenisti concludes from the pattern of project approval, ensures that US aid in the occupied territories is to strengthen personal prosperity while "forcibly restraining communal development."

Benvenisti describes the pattern of implementation of projects and concludes that the US government washes its hands of the procedure, leaving the final decision in the hands of the PVOs and the Israelis. He found that just over 54 percent of submitted projects are approved. Thus, while the US allotted an average of US$5.1 million per annum for the period in question, only US$2.3 million was spent.

Approximately half the budget submitted was for development projects in agriculture and industry. Less than one-third of the *approved* budget is for such projects.

Benvenisti found that almost no permission was given for purchase of equipment to be used in land reclamation or the processing of agricultural products.

Benvenisti undertook his study to examine whether the US State Department's stated policy of 'improving the quality of life' means encouragement of communal development or a 'pacification alternative' pursued by Israel. He concluded it was the latter.

He also concludes that the direction of US funding into public works, which are normally financed by taxpayers, allows the Israelis to use such funds for other purposes.

Six days after its release the State Department made a statement saying it had still not studied the report and could not "make specific comments."

Benvenisti had stated that without US officials intervening in the PVO-authorities relationship, no changes would be expected.

Police Arrest Israeli Terror Cell No.3

A third 'Terror Against Terror' cell has been rounded up, police announced April 9. They have admitted responsibility for a dozen attacks against Palestinian and non-Jewish religious targets over the last few months, according to the police. At a remand hearing April 10 the alleged leader of the group, Ami Deri, 26, from Ain Kerem, West Jerusalem, told the magistrate "there is not a shred of truth" in any of the charges.

The four-member cell made up of Deri, his brother Zvi, 22, cousin David, 23, and Uri Ben Ayoun, 24, are all from Ain Kerem. They were detained in two separate swoops over the past fortnight, the police announced at a press conference.

They are to be charged with three attacks on Christian sites on Mount Zion, Jerusalem, and grenade attacks in Azariya and Beit Safafa, near Jerusalem, Husan, near Bethlehem, and the Russian Orthodox Convent, Ain Kerem, over the past few months, the police said.

The cell was detained when they purchased arms from a police informer, police said at the press conference, and have reconstructed several of the incidents for police photographers.

The officer who arrested the cell described the members as "fanatic religious Jews." At the press conference police also announced that they questioned last month a "certified mentally ill person" who had made calls to the media claiming responsibility for TNT attacks. He is not part of any arrested cell, police said.

TNT cells in Lifta and the *Kach* movement, described as 'eccentrics' by Israeli interior minister Yosef Burg, were detained in early March. They were responsible for an attempt to blow up al-Aqsa Mosque and shooting up a bus carrying Arab workers near Ramallah. Police announced they have 'wrapped up' the TNT case, according to the Israeli press. The leaders of the Lifta group and the cells responsible for the attempted assassinations of three West Bank mayors in 1980, the killing of Hebron University students in 1983 and the arson of the West Jerusalem Baptist Church in 1982 are still at large, other officers say.

DFLP Releases Prisoner Exchange Conditions

NICOSIA — One day after the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine claimed responsibility for a guerrilla attack in Jerusalem on Monday, April 2 that left 48 Israelis wounded the deputy secretary of the DFLP announced in Damascus that his organisation is holding an Israeli soldier prisoner and is willing to exchange him for the two commandos captured following the attack.

The third commando involved in the attack was shot dead by an Israeli mob during the daring guerrilla attack.

Deputy Secretary Yassin Abed Rabbo demanded, in addition to the release of the two commandos, the release of other Palestinian political prisoners held in Israeli jails and an anti-Zionist Jew, Udi Adiv, who is serving a 16-year-prison term.

Abed Rabbo said the Israeli soldier is Samir Asa'ad Hamoud, from the Druze village of Beit Jann. He was captured in south Lebanon a year ago. He said Hamoud will be treated as a prisoner-of-war if Israel reciprocates. Abed Rabbo put his conditions for Hamoud's release:

The release of all Palestinian prisoners who were held back in violation of the prison exchange agreement between the PLO and Israel late November;

The release of Udi Adiv, a Jewish prisoner;

The release of the two commandos captured following the Jerusalem April 2 operation and the handing over to the DFLP of the body of the third commando;

The release of a commando captured and charged with responsibility for a Jerusalem explosion on February 22;

The release of Omar Qassem, member of the DFLP Central Committee, in prison for 16 years now;

The release of a number of Palestinian political prisoners in Israeli jails serving long sentences. The names will be given to the International Committee of the Red Cross later.

An official spokesperson for the DFLP, Jamil Hilal, said April 5 that his organisation recognises only the Druze Initiative Committee as the party to play a positive role in the exchange of prisoners between the DFLP and Israel. Hilal was reacting to calls by the Druze spiritual leader in Israel, Sheikh Amin Tarif, for the release of the Druze prisoner. He said the DFLP will release Hamoud as soon as Israel complies with its demands.

Sheikh Jamal Mu'adi, chairperson of the DIC, said his movement will do its best to guarantee the release of Hamoud by pressuring the Israeli government to agree to the DFLP demands. He said he does not see any reason why the government would not agree to their demands since it exchanged thousands of Palestinian and Lebanese POWs in November for six Jewish prisoners held by Fatah.

The DIC is active in defending Israeli Druze who do not want to join the Israeli army. It is also fighting the recruitment of Druze in general into the Israeli army. (Translation: Al Ittihad, April 4, 6, 1984).

Palestinian Druze delegates to the third general conference of the Druze Initiative Committee meet April 7. "Progress in spite of obstacles put forth by the authorities and the traditional leadership."

Druze Initiative Committee Affirms Palestinian Solidarity

More than 200 Palestinian Druze delegates and representatives of other progressive groups from the Galilee, Triangle and the Syrian Golan Heights took part in the third general conference of the Druze Initiative Committee (DIC) April 7.

The conferees reaffirmed the Palestinian identity of the Druze community and decided to escalate the struggle against compulsory military service.

The conference, held in the Shafa 'Amr municipal hall, was mostly devoted to the conditions under which Palestinian Druze live. Jamal Mu'adi, DIC head, gave a detailed report of the committee's activities since the second conference in 1981.

Mu'adi said the committee sponsored and participated in several demonstrations to protest the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the first anniversary of the Sabra and Shatila massacres on September 22, 1983.

He also reviewed the DIC efforts to give support to and publicise the cases of youths who refused military service. Mu'adi gave special mention to the DIC's fight against the Israeli-invented 'Druze heritage,' course which is now part of the programme at Druze schools.

He described it as an attempt to cut off the Druze community from its Palestinian origins: "Whoever knows our heritage knows that it is unseparable from the heritage of Nablus, Sabra and Shatila."

Nour A'amer, member of the DIC secretariat from Shafa 'Amr, also presented a report on the consequences of compulsory military service. He said thousands of Druze reject military service and try all means to avoid being drafted. According to statistics published by the DIC, there are more than 400 youths from the village of Yarka alone who are refusing the draft.

Youths have been tried and given sentences ranging between 35 days and seven years, A'amer said. Last week Walid Nayef Salim, from the village of Bqai'ah, was sentenced to one-a-and-a-half years for refusal to do military service.

Nour A'amer pointed out that since Israel was established in 1948, 300 Druze youths have lost their lives in wars and more than 1000 others are permanently crippled.

DIC guest MK Charlie Biton, from the Black Panthers part of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, slated Israel's discriminatory policy and blamed the Israeli government for the present economic situation.

The conference was also addressed by a delegation from the occupied Syrian Golan Heights. They spoke warmly of the support they received from Palestinian Druze during their strike against attempts to impose Israeli citizenship on them in 1982.

The DIC conference issued a concluding statement calling for pressure on Israel to speedily negotiate the release of POW Samir Hamoud, who is held by a Palestinian organisation. They also called for escalating the struggle against compulsory military service and land confiscations.

Attacks in S. Lebanon Continue

There were conflicting reports of the number of casualties Israeli troops in south Lebanon suffered in a series of military attacks between April 3 and 12. Official Israeli spokespersons say two soldiers were wounded; the official Lebanese radio station reported that some Israelis were killed and several wounded.

The most serious attack, according to the Lebanese state-run radio station, occurred on April 3 in the town of Nabatiya. The radio station said nationalist commandos carried out an early morning rocket attack on an Israeli armoured personnel carrier as it drove in the town. One rocket scored a direct hit, knocking out the APC and wounding all seven soldiers in it, the station reported.

The same day, an explosion rocked the port city of Sidon shortly before 1:00 pm. Reporters for the Lebanese radio station said that commandos detonated an explosive device by remote control at the southern entrance of the city as an Israeli mechanised convoy passed by. The radio station said that no further information was available as Israeli troops surrounded the area and prevented journalists from inspecting the damage.

The National Resistance Forces struck again on April 4 against a military vehicle on the Ghassaniyeh-al-Kawasariyeh road, near Nabatiya. The Lebanese radio station said that the vehicle was burned and all its passengers were either killed or wounded. The radio station said that the vehicle was seen being towed away on the Nabatiya-Zifta road.

The third attack of the week occurred on Monday morning April 9 near the village of al-Ghaziyeh in south Lebanon. The *Voice of Arab Lebanon* radio station said that an explosive device was detonated by remote control as an Israeli patrol drove by. The vehicle was damaged and all its occupants were killed or wounded.

An Israeli military spokesperson acknowleged the attack but claimed that there were no casualties.

The heavy casualty toll among Israeli troops triggered more repressive measures in efforts to control the attacks. Israeli troops reportedly wounded two Lebanese civilians April 4. Soldiers set up checkpoints at the approaches of Ain al-Hilweh refugee camp, near Sidon, following an attack on Israeli troops one day earlier. The soldiers fired at a car as it approached the checkpost, wounding the two passengers inside.

Meanwhile, Israeli troops bulldozed walls around orchards in the vicinity of Ain al-Hilweh, from which the attack was launched.

Furthermore, Israeli troops arrested one resident from the village of Mujaidil in south Lebanon on suspicion of having connections with the resistance forces. *Al Ittihad* reported April 4 that Israeli troops are still holding more than 240 Lebanese civilians from the village of Jibshit. The Israeli-backed militias in south Lebanon shot and killed three Jibshit residents and wounded 10 others during a confrontation on March 28.

Official Israeli accounts of attacks say two soldiers were wounded. One border policeman was wounded April 4 when a grenade was thrown at a patrol in central Sidon; the second soldier during the Nabatiya attack on April 11. An Israeli military spokesperson claimed that five local residents were wounded when two grenades were thrown at Israeli vehicles in Sidon. The spokesperson said that Israeli troops opened fire in the direction of the attackers.

The Israelis further reported three attacks on April 10, which they claimed did not result in any casualties.

Israel Revenge Raid Repulsed

Israeli warplanes bombarded Bhamdoun, on the Beirut-Damascus highway, April 7 in revenge for the attack in Jerusalem last week which left 48 Israelis wounded. Palestinian and national Lebanese sources said that extensive anti-aircraft fire prevented the raiding planes from accomplishing their mission. The 15-minute air raid was aimed at a building occupied by the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) which took responsibility for the Jerusalem attack, Israeli spokespersons said. Anti-aircraft fire diverted the jets from the targets, Lebanese reports said.

Foreign journalists reporting from Bhamdoun said the Israelis hit an empty hotel, the basement of which was used as an ammunition depot for the

continued on page 13

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 206, April 13, 1984:

Number of original articles submitted to censors	**15**
Number of articles totally censored out	**3**
Number of articles mutilated	**1**
Number of articles partially censored but used	**3**
Number of articles passed	**8**

Jerusalem Teacher Denied Right to Publish

An Israeli High Court hearing April 3 upheld a 1981 interior ministry decision to deny a publishing license to Jerusalem resident Aida Ayyoub for a bi-weekly magazine called *Al Masira*. The magazine would deal with social, economic, cultural and political subjects.

Rafi Levy, the Jerusalem district commissioner, based his refusal on a claim that Ayyoub would "endanger the security of the state."

Advocate Ibrahim Abu Atta, Ayyoub's lawyer, told *Al Fajr* the court ruled that there are security considerations for denying the permit to publish and that it would not interfere with decisions of the ministers of defence or the interior. Judges reviewed secret files. No specific 'security considerations' were made public.

Advocate Abu Atta said that the state prosecutor fervently opposed giving a permit to Ayyoub, claiming that the finances for the magazine would come from 'hostile elements.' Abu Atta said if he had had access to the files he would have answered the Israeli claims.

Judges Menahem Elon, Yehuda Cohen and Elisha Sheinbaum stated that the British Emergency Regulations of 1945 free the district commissioner from having to explain his reasons.

Ayyoub, who works as a teacher at Rosary Convent, a private Catholic school, said her proposed magazine, like other magazines, would deal only with the Palestinian reality and life in the occupied territories.

The British Mandate Defence (Emergency) Regulations of 1945, adopted by Israel, make it mandatory to have a government-approved license before publishing any material on a regular basis. Only a small percentage of Palestinian applicants receive licenses. Ayyoub is the second Palestinian woman to be denied a license under High Court endorsement in the last six months. A Galilee social scientist was refusd a permit to publish a scientific magazine. Israeli human rights activists consider the licensing practice to be a method of political control of written expression.

Last year Levi summarily closed down *Al Shira'a* magazine. No explanation was furnished for that move either.

Aida Ayyoub told *Al Fajr: "Masira* magazine was to serve students and workers. They need essays on culture and education to deepen their knowledge. The decision of the High Court, however, does not shock me. I already knew there is no democracy in Israeli courts."

Old City Resident Ambushed and Beaten

Jerusalem resident Yacoub Jamil Sidawi, 27, was beaten by unidentified *kippa*-wearing settlers in the Old City of Jerusalem April 1. He suffered contusions when four or five men ambushed him near Bab al-Hadid in the Old City at 2:00 am. Sidawi told the police that the four or five young men beat him and then ran away.

Residents believe the attackers were students from an Old City *yeshiva* who are known to assault Palestinians. Sidawi was released after two days of hospital treatment.

Police officer Shoshana, in charge of the Old City of Jerusalem, told *Al Fajr* that according to Sidawi's testimony, the attackers were not dressed like students of the nearby *yeshiva*. He said policemen have questioned residents in the area and "the file is not yet finished."

Last year settlers of the Birkat Avraham *yeshiva* near Aqbat Khaldieh attacked Nafez Abu Maizer, an *Al Fajr* printshop worker, twice as he returned home from work. Abu Maizer was hospitalised both times at Makassed Hospital. None of his attackers have been identified or punished. A dozen other complaints were made by Old City residents against settler attacks, with no one arrested.

Yacoub Jamil Sadawi in Makassed Hospital after being beaten in Jerusalem's Old City by Israeli settlers/AO photo

Arroub Camp Sealed; Resistance Attacks Escalate

Israeli troops sealed off the entrances to Arroub refugee camp, on the main Bethlehem-Hebron road, April 9. The closure followed a firebomb attack on an Israeli patrol the previous day, one of six similar attacks this week. One Israeli soldier was wounded.

Israeli troops built concrete walls to block the two remaining pedestrian entrances to Arroub camp the night after the attack. There was no confrontation with the residents.

Last year Israeli troops sealed off roads into the camp following demonstrations and stone-throwing. Residents are now obliged to walk around the camp to get to their homes.

Israel Radio reported April 9 that youths threw a Molotov cocktail bottle at an Israeli jeep as it drove past the camp. There were no casualties, the radio report said.

On the same day an unidentified youth threw a Molotov at an Israeli jeep on patrol in Nur Shams refugee camp, in the Tulkarm district. No damage was done, according to official reports.

An Israeli soldier was stabbed April 4 in the Old City of Jerusalem. According to *Al Fajr*, the youth who attacked him escaped before he was identified. Israeli soldiers arrested a number of Arab residents for questioning.

The latest attack in the week occurred on April 10 when a gerenade was thrown at an Israeli military vehicle near Silwad, in the Ramallah district. Israel Radio said the military vehicle was on its way to the nearby Ofra settlement when it was attacked. There were no casualties in the attack.

On April 3 an unidentified person hurled a firebomb at an Israeli bus travelling between Ramallah and Beit El settlement.

Among other incidents, *Al Hamishmar* reported that an Israeli patrol was stoned in Bethlehem on April 4. The paper said that the windscreen of a patrol vehicle was damaged. The stone-thrower escaped.

In the Gaza Strip, *Al Ittihad* daily reported, April 10, Palestinian residents clashed twice with Israeli patrols. In one incident, residents of Jabalya refugee camp north of the city of Gaza clashed with a patrol which came to search the house of a teacher who was arrested on the previous day. The teacher, A'aish Abu Sa'ada was arrested on unknown charges.

The paper also reported that residents of Abassan Kabira stoned an Israeli jeep after it ran over a local youth April 6. The Israeli Communist Party organ said the soldiers beat a number of youngsters and women with clubs. (Translation: Local press, April 11, 1984).

Electric Co. Under Fire for New Generators

The municipal court in Jerusalem ordered the Arab-owned Jerusalem District Electric Company April 11 to demolish a temporary roof it had put over the shelter for the company's new generator while awaiting a court decision on the building's legal status. The company's chief engineer, Hassan Abd al-Rahman, was summoned to appear at the municipal court hearing and was released later on IS150,000 bail. Abd al-Rahman is to appear in another municipal court hearing April 24. Workers of the Israeli-run Jerusalem municipality started the same day to dismantle the roof of the unlicensed building which was built over the company generator. Hassan Abd al-Rahman denied that he was arrested, as Israeli newspapers had reported. He also described the controversial roof as merely an asbestos structure screwed to a metal framework to protect the generator from the sun. The Jerusalem District Electric Company had applied to the municipality for a permit to build a roof but it has not yet received an answer. The company also submitted a detailed plan for strengthening electric power to the Israeli National Electric Power Company, also unanswered.

Mass Trial in Gaza

The Israeli military court in Gaza sentenced 10 students from the Islamic University April 1 to three months imprisonment and fines of between IS35,000 and IS50,000. They were charged with participating in Land Day demonstrations. Fifteen other students received three-month suspended sentences and fines of between IS35,000 and IS50,000. Ten students were aquitted. All 35 defendants were tried together.

Israeli troops rounded up more than 160 students of the Gaza Islamic University following a demonstration on March 31, the day after Land Day, according to university sources. University officials said the arrests were carried out despite an agreement the military had made with the administration that students would disperse peacefully if there were no arrests.

Committee Wants Settlement at All Costs

Settlement planners and politicians had a falling out April 11 at the Knesset ministerial committee on settlements over the legality of the ministers' latest decision to establish new colonies.

Ra'anan Weitz, co-chairman of the World Zionist Organisation settlement department, walked out of the meeting accusing participants of approving the establishment of new West Bank settlements on the basis of grab tactics.

Weitz told reporters after leaving that the committee had approved 25 settlements it had no budget to implement.

Students Call UNWRA's Closure of School 'Punitive'

Students of the UNRWA Ramallah Men's Teachers Training Centre charged that the administration closed the school April 8 until further notice to punish students for protesting "administrative decisions and actions against the student movement." Their accusations were published in the local Palestinian press in Jerusalem April 7. UNRWA officials initially refused to comment or give details of the conflict between students and UNRWA administration. After a suggestion by the local official spokesperson that *Al Fajr* "call Vienna" to find out why the centre was closed, the query was finally transferred to the local UNRWA authorities who had made the decision to shut the facilities.

Their official reply was that "the first-year trainees took strike action from their studies on April 7, 1984 after an earlier strike on April 4, contrary to terms of the agreement signed by their parents and guardians recently. They were given more than one opportunity that day to resume studies and were reminded of the undertaking signed by them and of the serious consequences which would follow if they refuse to return to classes. They refused to return to classes. Therefore, the agency (UNRWA) suspended training and dismissed the trainees."

The students' statement recorded a different story. They said that UNRWA expelled Mustafa Khalil, chairperson of the student council, and Mazen Jurmi, council secretary, for discussing matters regarding students' affairs and interests. The statement also accused centre director Fathi Abd al-Al of giving false testimony in his own defence against charges by the two students that he beat and dismissed them March 17 when they came to investigate warnings issued against students.

They said Khalil's and Jurmi's testimonies were disregarded. The students claimed in their statement that UNRWA is attempting to force students to sit for the Jordanian-sponsored comprehensive exam. The students demanded that the two students be permitted to return to their studies. Their demand was supported by all student councils in the West Bank academic institutions and universities, which also published statements denouncing the closure in local newspapers.

Second-year students have not been allowed to attend classes since February 19.

Israeli Peace Council Honours Sartawi in Tel Aviv

Palestinian lawyer Raja Shehadeh and Israeli author Amos Kenan were honoured April 10 at a special ceremony to commemorate the late Palestinian political leader Issam Sartawi, assassinated a year ago in Portugal. Shehadeh was recognised for his book *The Third Way* and Kenan for his work *The Road to Jalout*. Both books were considered by the Issam Sartawi Fund, a special research department established by the Israeli Peace Council, as leaders in efforts contributing to Palestinian-Israeli peace in accordance with the ideologies of Sartawi.

The Tel Aviv event included speeches by Israelis and Palestinians who eulogised Sartawi and praised efforts exerted for peace. A tape recording of Sartawi, former political advisor to Yasir Arafat and member of the Palestine National Council, was played in which he said, "The road of peace we choose is a national and moral way which we will never shy from."

Bir Zeit University's philosophy professor Sari Nusseibeh spoke on the development of Palestinian, ideological and political thinking since 1917 (for complete text, see page 5).

Participants at a special ceremony April 10 to commemorate the late Issam Sartawi. The Tel Aviv event was highlighted by honours given Palestinian lawyer Rajah Shehadeh and Israeli author Amos Kenan/AO photo

Among the Israeli speakers *HaOlam Hazeh* editor Uri Avneri and retired general Matti Peled spoke on Sartawi's political thought and the efforts of the Israeli Peace Council.

Dr. Samir Mari'e, from Haifa University, spoke on the role of education in peace efforts in times of war. He said Sartawi tried to put an end to the military mentality and follow the road of peace.

Othman Sartawi, a relative of the assassinated Palestinian leader, said "We are not honouring Issam Sartawi today as a person but we are honouring his principles and thought." Othman Sartawi proposed to hold the next ceremonies at the village of Sarta, Sartawi's birthplace.

Deputy Mayor of Nazareth Stabbed

Adib Abu Rahman, deputy mayor of Nazareth, was seriously wounded April 6 when a Nazareth resident stabbed him in the neck and side. The attacker, Fadel Basyoni, from Nazareth, was taking revenge on Abu Rahman for the refusal of the municipality to permit him to erect a stall in Garages Square two years ago, according to local sources.

Abu Rahman was attacked as he left the municipality after attending a work and welfare committee meeting.

Basyoni, who used a large knife, was arrested after the incident and Abu Rahman was taken to the English Hospital for immediate surgery. After the operation, doctors said Abu Rahman was out of danger.

The municipality of Nazareth has issued a statement condemning the incident. "It was not the first attack against the Nazareth municipality. Attackers opened fire on the house of Mayor Tawfiq Zayyad. The mayor's deputies were also attacked," the statement said. "Attempts were also made to burn the municipal building. However, Israeli authorities did not identify the culprits."

A meeting of members of the municipal council and other Nazareth figures April 7 demanded that Basyoni be brought to court immediately and called for the adoption of measures necessary to prevent the repetition of such incidents.

Queries Continue Into Jaffa Street Attack

Israeli security forces are still trying to identify those who participated in the April 2 attack at a Jaffa Street intersection in which 48 Israelis were wounded, one Palestinian killed and two other men captured.

Israeli police received information that a US woman and Lebanese man were involved in planning the attack and supplied the attackers with weapons. Israeli police sources said that the other two, who crossed the Israeli-Lebanese border on March 31, have left the country. Detailed reports of the operation have been published daily in Israeli newspapers.

Ma'ariv reported April 6 that a lot of information was supplied to the police recently and security forces interrogated the two captured men to try and get names of West Bankers who directly or indirectly participated on the attack. Israeli police have asked help from *Interpol* in identifying the foreign woman.

West Jerusalem is still tense and many Israelis are taking their personal weapons to work, papers report. Alertness about 'suspicious objects' has escalated and the number of telephone calls about suspicious objects in streets and shops has increased. Mahane Yehuda market was searched twice last week.

The two captured men reside in Sidon in south Lebanon, Israel Radio reported April 3. The police published descriptions to the other two persons who managed to escape. The man is a Lebanese, aged 24. He is tall and has blonde curly hair. The woman is American, of Japanese extraction.

The two attackers crossed from Lebanon March 31 and stayed at the Pilgrims Palace Hotel, near the bus station in East Jerusalem. They showed the hotel employee their Lebanese passports and rented a room for two days. The two men asked hotel employees about places of entertainment in West Jerusalem. Another visitor came on the evening of April 1 and met them in the hotel.

The investigation revealed that the third person, who stayed at the Savoy Hotel on Salah al-Din Street, is a member in another cell belonging to the same organisation. Savoy employees said two people arrived at the hotel on Saturday, March 31 carrying blue bags. One of them had the Lebanon-Israel entry number 900, the other has no. 922.

The Israeli press has also speculated on the background of the operation. *HaAretz*'s political editor said the operation was a reaction to the US congressional debate on the transfer of the American Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

Ma'ariv newspaper predicted similar attacks "at any place in the country and at any time."

Zvi Shuldner, a Peace Now member, condemned Israeli government policy in the occupied territories. His condemnation was reported in *Manifesto* newspaper in Rome. Shuldner said that some Israelis have begun collecting signatures on a petition demanding the authorities execute the two captured men before a prisoner exchange can be completed.

FROM ANSAR TO ATLIT

Military Court Upholds POW Detention on Secret Evidence

Two men taken prisoner in July 1982 by Israeli forces in Lebanon and transferred from Ansar to the Israeli military prison, Atlit, instead of being released in the POW exchange last November lost an appeal made April 4 for their release. The military objections committee met in evening session *in camera* and based its recommendation on secret material presented by the military prosecution to show that the two prisoners, a Lebanese and a Palestinian, were involved with the PLO, according to their lawyer. The authorities prevented the International Committee of the Red Cross representative from attending the session.

Ghassan Zeidan, a Lebanese Druze from the village of Ras al-Ballout in the Shouf mountains, and Mohammed Yunis, a Palestinian resident of Burj al-Shamali refugee camp near Tyre, also applied to the Israeli High Court two weeks ago against conditions of their detention in Israel. The two have been held at Atlit, south of Haifa, since November 1983 when they were transferred from Ansar, south Lebanon, to prevent their inclusion in the PLO-Israel prisoner exchange.

Their lawyer, Felicia Langer, refuted the authorities' claims that her clients had relations with the PLO. "The authorities base their charges on the testimony of hooded collaborators," she reportedly told the committee. Langer explained that local collaborators were using the situation in Lebanon to take revenge on their enemies.

The lawyer also strongly protested the submission of secret files passed from the military prosecution to the committee. She charged that such procedures interfere with due process and make it impossible for her to defend her clients.

Langer was given permission to visit her clients in Atlit for the first time on March 26 and obtained affidavits from them on conditions inside the jail.

Zeidan and Yunis wrote that prison guards keep them and other prisoners under constant harassment. Mohammed Yunis also said that prisoners are constantly beaten and insulted for no reason. "We are compelled to bow our heads when we talk to the prison guards," he wrote. They said that there is a shortage of even basic necessities.

sleep on the bare floor and have few blankets, Zeidan said. Food is insufficient and inadequate; fresh fruit is provided only once every two weeks.

The prisoners are not given newspapers, books, or allowed to listen to the radio. They are not permitted to be in written contact with their families or to receive visits from the International Committee of the Red Cross.

The two prisoners complained that they have not been charged and do not know why they are being held.

Copies of the two prisoners' affidavits were sent to the Israeli High Court in Jerusalem to support the earlier complaint against the conditions of their detention.

TERROR-HYPE DESCENDS ON ISRAELIS

The number of daily reports of suspicious objects has tripled to over 100 reports per day since the Jaffa Road attack last week. Police have frequently closed streets to traffic, mainly in the city centre, causing traffic jams while they detonate objects.

There have been many alarm calls about suspicious men, mainly Arabs. In one incident April 4 border police were rushed to the main post office after they recieved a report that two Arab men carrying a bag entered the post office and quickly disappeared after a policeman asked for their ID cards.

All police patrol vehicles were ordered to locate and arrest the two men. A special police team combed a park and forces searched other areas in the town centre. Dozens of suspects were arrested.

In the process three bank branches were evacuated following information that the two had been seen in them.

Suspicious objects on buses are being checked immediately. Recently passengers on several Egged lines in Jerusalem were asked several times to get off the bus and wait until a bomb disposal team examined objects.

On Wednesday evening an American tourist woman of Japanese descent was arrested. It was reported that a colleague to the unit that attacked passers-by in Jerusalem was an American tourist woman of Japanese descent. The tourist escaped from the policeman and was arrested two hours later. After it was made clear that she belonged to a group staying at a nearby hotel she was released.

Many people applied to the ministry of the interior in Jerusalem asking for gun permits. Almost all were turned down. Many of the appellants are town centre shopkeepers. The ministry of interior licensing officers explain that the police are responsible for security in the city.

The Dawn

AL FAJR

AL FAJR — Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

Publisher:
Paul A. Ajlouny
Editor-in-Chief:
H.S. Siniora
Managing Editor:
Sam'an Khoury

Tel: (02) 281035
P.O. Box 19315
East Jerusalem

Telex no.s:
Jerusalem: 26467 omar il
Washington: 64677 omar uw

Al Fajr was founded in 1972 by Yusef Nasr, who edited the paper until his kidnapping in 1974. The English edition was first published in April 1980. **The Dawn (Al Fajr) Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (UPS 686630)** is published weekly for $50.00 per year by Paul Ajlouny, 16 Crowell St., Hempstead, N.Y. 11550. Second class postage paid at Hempstead, N.Y.
POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Al Fajr 2025 I Street N.W., Suite 925, Washington D.C., 20006.

Unsolved Crimes

Israeli police officials bragged in a press conference this week that they have solved the Terror Against Terror case. As they were doing so other 'police sources' were admitting that a number of investigations of terror actions against Palestinians remain unsolved.

Four Israeli fanatics accused of 14 attacks against holy sites, are detained this week but the perpetrators of the 1980 bombing of Palestinian mayors and the 1983 armed attack in Hebron University which killed three students remain unknown and presumably 'at large.'

Despite the Jerusalem police's recent arrests of the 'Lifta group' accused of trying to bomb al-Aqsa Mosque, the 'Kach' group who shot up a bus carrying workers and the group of four, we do not expect that the aforementioned cases will be solved.

Apologies Apologies

Sartawi's Cause

Today marks the first anniversary of the death of Issam Sartawi, member of the Palestine National Council and a political advisor to Yasir Arafat.

The late Sartawi believed in dialogue with Israeli peace movements as a means to push forward the search for a just peace for the Palestinian people and to penetrate the Israeli arena to prove the legitimacy of the Palestinian cause, with all its political and human implications.

The approach, which is criticised by some who do not understand its real goals, is one Palestinian approach that has some backers among the Palestinians. It is no less than any other approach which pushes forward the Palestinian issue on the political level.

Sartawi's absence does not mean that this approach, which he believed in and died for, is disappearing. There are still many of our people who are attracted by this method as a political option for a just peace for the Palestinian people.

Those who believe the Palestinian struggle is a one-lane road are mistaken.

One may feel an embarrassment when an Israeli committee honours Sartawi on the first anniversary of his death rather than a special Palestinian committee, particularly since Sartawi gave his life for his cause and for a principle he believed in.

Whatever the situation, Sartawi was a Palestinian who never abandoned the Palestinian national struggle. This should be an inspiration to all those who believe in Sartawi's theories to continue in this journey as long as it will contribute to the Palestinian struggle.

Al Fajr Daily
April 10

Issam Sartawi Remembered

By Sari Nusseibeh

Following is the text of a speech given on April 10, 1984, in Tel Aviv, at a memorial for Issam Sartawi, PLO representative to the Socialist International, assassinated in Lisbon, Portugal, one year ago:

Ladies and Gentlemen,

This is a sad occasion indeed. We commemorate not only the fatal blow dealt to an honourable and patriotic man of peace. That, of itself is sad enough, to be sure.

But we also commemorate a sad, symbolic occasion. We commemorate the deep injury sustained by an oft-forgotten, feeble and discarded part of the overall history of confrontation between our peoples. I mean, the human factor, the brave endeavour to look beyond suffering, beyond the present grotesqueness of the human condition in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict — and to see, beyond all this, a peaceful landscape of justice and human reconciliation.

It is sad that Sartawi died but it would be sadder to think that his struggle for peace was merely a struggle in a vacuum, in a phantom world, a pointless voyage through illusions, with windmills as foes and fools as friends.

But Sartawi's endeavours were not pointless, nor were they illusory. Whether he, or other people, knew it or not, his endeavours in fact fitted sanely and naturally in an on-going and inevitable process bringing together, welding, and binding, two peoples whose fates have become inevitably interlocked, for better or worse, and who are bound to end up accepting each other, as fellow citizens in one state, or as equals in neighbouring states, or whatever, jointly, in the land of their ancient forefathers, Jews and non-Jews, of Babylonian or Philistine descent, however genetically constituted, whether of the seed of Abraham, or of the Hebronite's Ephron the Hittite.

Sartawi's front line endeavours were natural, and rational, because they were merely anticipating the final stages of the long war of the modern Palestinians; it was a war that began years back, perhaps in 1917, with the Balfour Declaration. Since then, and for a period of over 65 years, the Palestinians had been engaging in their national struggle. They had fought against their own backwardness, their own disorganisation, against their friends as well as against their enemies. They had built up their representative institutions, held their national congresses, starting with the first Palestinian congress held in March 1919 in Jerusalem; they had set up their own fighting forces, established their independent national personality in the world-wide map of politics; they had stood up to the fiercely advanced technologies of the Israeli armed forces, produced their own natural folklore, their novelists, poets and heroes; they had withstood the discrimination against them of their Arab brethren, clutched to their soil with their bare fists, exposed their innocent breasts to army bullets, suffered the torture and humiliation of Israeli and Arab jails and interrogation cells, travelled through the Arab world like fugitives, often slipping illegally through borders for want of respectable visas and passports; the Palestinians grovelled on their hands and knees, painfully inching their bloodied way across a thorny landscape of intrigues, failures, frustrations, sacrifices, misfortunes and massacres. The Palestinians fought and demonstrated, they sold their services, their brains, and their expertise. They sacrificed their lives and fell victims in Lisbon and in Nablus.

The long war of the Palestinians, Sartawi guessed, must be drawing to an end. The world at large had come to recognise the PLO and the national rights of the Palestinian people. It was now simply left to Israel to see eye to eye with the rest of the world, and to accept the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people, including their sovereign right to freedom and independence in their own state on their national soil. With this final stage in mind, Sartawi began to establish contacts with Israelis, to pave the way, through dialogue and direct human interaction, for the final day of peace and reconciliation.

The other side of the coin of sovereign statehood and independence for Palestinians is not only theoretical or eventual, but also functional and immediate acceptance of Israel and of Zionism. In its 16th session last year, the PNC accepted the Fez plan of partition in Palestine and welcomed the Brezhnev peace proposals which explicitly stipulate and endorse coexistence between Israel and an independent Palestinian state. The PNC's acceptance of these peace plans constitutes a conceptual leap in Palestinian national thinking; it is a brave and progressive crystallisation of ideas which began taking shape in 1974, when the PNC endorsed the transitional political programme, and it shows clearly the PLO's readiness at its highest legislative level to come to terms with reality, but not at the expense of Palestinian national dignity.

However, the PNC committed a grave error when it failed to provide this brave conceptual leap with a functional handle. The PNC shied away from endorsing official PLO contacts with Zionists, even when it was obvious that the establishment of an independent Palestinian state alongside Israel requires the establishment of contact with the Zionist establishment in Israel. PLO official contact and dialogue with Zionists thus remained a taboo. Even Arafat's meetings with progressive Zionists was considered a transgression of PNC rules, and a sign of 'deviant' political behaviour.

Such were the obvious seeds of contradiction between theory and practice, the gap in the Palestinian position through which the bullet that killed Sartawi could pass. In the very same 16th session of the PNC, resolutions were passed confirming that the PLO is the sole interlocutor on behalf of the Palestinians, that no other party has the right to negotiate on their behalf. The indications were clear. The PLO wished itself to be party to any negotiations with Israel.

It did not wish Jordan to be an interlocutor on behalf of the PLO. And yet, while the PNC thus insisted on the very line that Sartawi followed, it shied away from legitimising the means to pursue this line, and legitimising his brave efforts. It is a dilemma between means and ends in modern Palestinian politics that proved fatal once, and that must be rectified.

But what happens next?

Much lies within Israel's reach. Especially as the elections come to an end, Israel will have to go through a very difficult test, perhaps the most important historical test it has had to go through since its inception. It will have to decide whether to force its way mightily but blindly into an inevitably dark and risky future, or to take heed of the Arab reality within which it exists and, foremost, of the Palestinian national element in this reality, thus securing for itself, and the Palestinians, a stable and dignified existence. It will no longer do to pay lip-service to peace. It is past the time of political acrobatics, of maneuvers and of trial balloons. Mr.Peres's signals to Jordan, coupled with his stated rejection of the PLO as a partner in possible negotiations, do not contain a single grain of credibility. Mr. Peres can make peace with Jordan. But it is not against Jordan that Israel went to war in the Lebanon. It is not Jordanian nationalism that is held captive in the occupied territories. It is the Palestinians through their legitimate representative institutions, that are engaged in their long war of national liberation and independence, not Jordan. Mr. Peres knows this, along with millions of other people, in this region and abroad. If Israel does not wish merely to pay lip-service to peace, if it does not wish merely to prevaricate, but wishes to seek real peace, and justice, then let it extend a direct peace challenge to the PLO. Let Sartawi's endeavours, and friends, gain credibility and strength. Perhaps, with such a direct and clear peace challenge extended to the PLO, the PNC can, when it next meets in a month, as it is due to, reciprocate this peace challenge, thus proving that all the Palestinian and Israeli blood that has so far been spilled has not been spilled in vain.

Sari Nusseibeh is a lecturer at Bir Zeit University.

People in Glass Houses Shouldn't Throw Stones

by Attallah Najjar

Hadashot is a new Israeli paper, and being new it is still active. It has correspondents in various Israeli cities and also in most European countries. Though this paper differs from the rest of the Israeli papers in being full-colour it is, like them, 'politically coloured.'

The paper's correspondent in Copenhagen is active... or rather very active. He recently unveiled 'a racist scandal' that has surfaced in Sweden. The Swedish authorities give every naturalised citizen a personal [ID] number which starts with 'g'. Through this simple method the Swedish establishment and public organisation can tell whether someone they are dealing with is a 'genuine Swede' or a 'naturalised one.'

We agree with this correspondent that this is a racist phenomenon whose aim is quite obvious. But we don't know why the paper went as far as Sweden to reveal the phenomenon. Isn't the editor of the paper aware that the ID card numbers of Arab Jerusalemites start with a certain number for the same purpose?

Doesn't he also know that public transport vehicles for Arab residents in Jerusalem start with a certain number for the same purpose?

Doesn't he know that driver's licenses for Arabs are issued on the 15th of the month, whereas those for Jews are issued on the 1st?

The list is a long one. We do not expect Israeli newspaper editors to fight or warn about this racist phenomenon. But we do expect them to at least behave in accordance with the maxim 'People who live in glass houses shouldn't throw stones.' (Translation: Al Fajr, April 5, 1984).

Arab resident of Jerusalem ID: The telltale second digit, 8, indicates to Israeli authorities that the holder is Palestinian. Why go to Sweden?

Attallah Najjar is editor of Hebrew news for Al Fajr *Arabic daily.*

Shame or Wisdom and Courage?

by Abdel Karim al-Sharif

The recent statements made by King Hussein of Jordan concerning the attitude of the US towards the Middle East crisis are worth many comments. King Hussein reiterated Jordan's refusal to negotiate directly with Israel and said the United States has lost its credibility in the area.

From what King Hussein said, it can be understood that Jordan still believes the road to the solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict passes through Washington because Jordan, like all the other Arab countries, has no other alternative to regain lost territories. It expects and begs the United States to persuade and even pressure Israel to withdraw from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

Such a situation is sad, pitiful, deplorable and shameful to the Arabs because the available data is constantly tipping the balance in Israel's favour: Israel has been in firm control of the occupied territories; the Egyptian front is no longer hostile and threatening; Syria is to a great extent involved in Lebanon; the front in the Golan Heights is calm; the PLO no longer seriously menaces Israel; and Jordan neither wants nor is capable of waging a successful offensive against Israel. And to add to the multiplicity of discouraging factors, the United States, contrary to the wishes of the Arabs, has no real incentive to nudge Israel into offering tangible concessions.

Under such bleak circumstances, what should the Arabs do? In fact there is a lot Jordan can do. The first step to be taken by Jordan is to put Israel in a corner; following King Hussein's statements, Israel declared that it invites Jordan to conduct direct negotiations with it without prior conditions. Thus if, according to Israel, every matter concerning Jordan and Israel is negotiable, including Jerusalem, then Jordan should be wise and courageous enough to sit face-to-face with Israel, (with the approval of the PLO) to try to test the goodwill of the Israelis.

Talking directly with Israel would not be shameful. Rather, it would deplete Israel's arguments and conditions for a peace settlement. Certainly there is no guarantee that direct negotiations will succeed but it should be remembered that the Sadat-Begin meetings materialised. However, if serious negotiations fail, Israel would be to blame and then Syria and Jordan had better patch up their quarrels and try to formulate a coordinated strategy aimed at rescuing the occupied territories. Should there then be a showdown let there be a showdown. But the present absence of both negotiations and war prompts despair.

Abdel Karim al-Sharif lives in Jerusalem and has a B.A. in political science.

Political Messianic Stream: Reminders of the Third Reich

by Hanna Qim

"The political-messianic stream in the state of Israel as it is expressed by Gush Emunim, by the Movement for Greater Israel (literally: whole *Eretz Israel*), by the Association of Yeshivas (Jewish religious schools incorporated into Israeli army units that make up military posts in the occupied territories — tr.), by the state-religious education and by some of the Zionist-religious youth movements, is reminiscent in its form, though not yet in its content, of the Third Reich."

This was said on March 11 by historian Uriel Tal, in conclusion to his research on racism in European and in German history and similar tendencies and inclinations of the state of Israel. Professor Tal, whose words created much interest and whose research on this original subject is one of the first in the Israeli academic world, spoke at a conference of Forum — a group of lecturers at the Tel Aviv University who are identified with the centre and left. It dealt with the subject: "Nationalism, Ethnic Discrimination and Racism."

There are No Human and Civil Rights

Professor Tal added, "This political-messianic stream provokes the fear that it envisages a genocidal solution, and to the best of my knowledge this solution has growing support among the people of Israel. Professor Tal based his statement on things written in the *halacha* (Jewish religious code), Gush Emunim's magazine *Nekudah* (The Point) and words of rabbis like Shlomo Goren (former Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi of Israel, former Israeli Army chief rabbi who danced with the Tora scroll when East Jerusalem was conquered in 1967 as bodies still lay around... — tr.), Rabbi Cook and his son Rabbi Israel Hess, Rabbi Yehuda Amital,and Rabbi Shlomo Aviner whose words, according to professor Tal, educate the religious youth movement in Israel.

"According to the political-messianic movement in Israel, we are placed in the very centre of a messianic era in which *Eretz Israel* is being liberated not only from political enemies but also from the *Sitra-Ahra* (Satan) — a mystical power that constitutes badness, defilement, corruption. According to this dogma, the era of sanctity into which we are entering includes the whole of the Zionist enterprise. This is a movement with a tremendous inner power of mystical belief in which there is no ground for human and civil rights because these are a part of the defiled Western culture that should be annihilated," says Tal.

Sacred War

Nekuda, Professor Tal said, says that the war in Lebanon is, according to the political-messianic stream, a 'sacred war' and Israel's remaining in Lebanon confirms Biblical prophecy. He indicated that the political-messianic stream defines the messianic redemption in the present tense; the messianic era is not defined as a 'cosmic era' that will take place in the world to come but in this current world.

The words of Rabbi Yehuda Amital, who calls the state of Israel the Kingdom of Israel, were compared by Professor Tal with Nazi Germany ("so far only from a structural aspect, not in content"). This is a revolt against rational culture — where the aim of the victory of the Yom Kippur (war) is to burn off the foreign culture — and whoever seeks a merger of Judaism and Western and democratic culture is nothing else than a servant of Satan. Rabbi Amital says: "This war made by you is for redemption. The war is a great favour that the Almighty blessed us with because it purifies and purges the soul."

Oroth — Glances from the Mysterious

The political-messianic stream, says Professor Tal, "consecrates every stone on which our foot stands until there is no ground left for people. All the historical symbols change from being symbolic to being reality and this is how it was in the Third Reich — again, only from the structural aspect." Professor Tal says (after indicating at the beginning of his presentation that, "I say this not out of criticism but as a relevant and factual attempt to analyse the political-messianic stream") that there is no place for a foreigner in the state of Israel according to this dogmatic stream. The solution is, as mentioned, genocide Israeli-style, or in the language of the sources (the Bible): the '*Amalek Mitzva*' (Jewish religious injunction — tr.) that constitutes a racist and military-strategic argument.

"The name that has been given to the new (national-religious — tr.) party, that might be established, *Oroth*, is again a carefully-chosen symbol of the new stream that is a precedent in the Israeli tradition, intended to fill the present gap with glimpses of the mysterious in order to purify and lift up the light to its source and origin," said Professor Tal, concluding his lecture.

Professor Saul Friedlander spoke about a symposium in which he participated where he was asked why the German elite and academics did not see the start of Nazism and strangle and eliminate the spread of the phenomenon. "I don't know the answer to where the point was at which it was possible to eliminate the phenomenon," he said. "The most dangerous stage comes when the ruling policy helps or defends racist tendencies. It would be a great advantage if we could put a finger on the starting point at this conference." (Translation: Al Hamishmar, March 12, 1984).

Hanna Qim is Tel Aviv correspondent for Al Hamishmar *Hebrew daily.*

The chambers of commerce chart the business community's way through the maze of occupation and West Bank-international relations. In doing this they have been criticised for their increasingly political role between the Jordanians and the Israelis. Daoud Kuttab of *Al Fajr* visited the chambers recently to examine their role today.

West Bank Chambers of Commerce: Who do they Serve ?

Businessmen, merchants and industrialists in many cities of the world attach great importance to their local chambers of commerce. The chambers are a power house in local city politics in some countries. In the occupied territories these bodies of businessmen have a much bigger regional role. And in the situation of continued occupation, both the occupying power and the Jordanian government have kept a close eye on the chambers and to a large extent both are quietly happy with their operation.

Legal Position

Nine chambers of commerce operate in the West Bank's major cities of Jerusalem, Ramallah, Bethlehem, Hebron, Nablus, Tulkarm, Jenin, Qalqilya and Jericho. A federation of West Bank chambers of commerce was set up after the 1967 war.

According to Jordanian law which is partially in force in the occupied territories, the chambers of commerce consist of each cities' business owners. In most cities the issuance of a business certificate is conditional on the owner producing a certificate of membership in his local chamber of commerce.

The chambers are charged with the issuance of a number of business related documents, financial guarantees and certifications of ownership. The chamber also has a wider responsibility to work for the improvement and enhancement of business in their districts.

After Occupation

A number of factors changed after the Israeli occupation of 1967. The chambers, which represent businessmen who had strong financial dealings with Jordan, kept close working relationships with Jordanian officials. In the occupied territories chamber officials interceded with Israeli officials when shops were closed or when taxes rose.

The Israeli occupation also produced new duties for West Bank chambers of commerce. Since West Bank Palestinians were still Jordanian citizens, the chambers of commerce were drawn in to process applications and deal with problems relating to the issuance of passports as well as other public documents. Jordanian officials recognised the stamp of the chamber of commerce on all kinds of papers including birth, marriage and land transfer certificates.

Jordanian officials use this power in determining which signature to recognise. For example, in Ramallah when the Jordanians stopped accepting the signature of chamber head Saba' Qaravan, the members met and voted to oust him and place Ibrahim Farr, his deputy, to take over as head of the chamber.

Politics

With the occupation continuing, the Israeli authorities are constantly looking for representative individuals and institutions. With the chambers of commerces' close ties with Jordan and the chambers' representation of business interests, the authorities found both a group which it could not only talk to but also pressure when necessary.

The Israeli authorities cashed in on this relationship with the creation of the 'civil administration.' Shortly after Professor Menahem Milson was appointed head of the 'civil administration,' he met with the Nablus Chamber of Commerce. This meeting as well as that with other chambers of commerce gave some sort of legitimacy to the 'civil administration' at a time when Palestinian national institutions were boycotting it.

Zafir Masri, head of the Nablus Chamber of Commerce, defends the decision taken to meet with Milson. "The chamber's board met with all its members and took a unanimous decision," he said. Masri explains that the rationale for the meeting was the fact that 'an occupation official is an occupation official' whether he is dressed in a military uniform or a suit.

Bassam Shaka'a, the mayor of Nablus who was deposed because he refused to meet Milson, says the Israeli authorities depended on the chambers of commerce from the very beginning of occupation. "After I was ousted from office the relationship intensified," declares Shaka'a. He asserts the relationship has become so close that recently when the head of the 'civil administration' announced the dates of public holidays he included the chambers of commerce in his announcement of government offices to be closed. Shaka'a also accused the present administration of the Nablus Chamber of Commerce of not meeting merchants when requested and not signing a letter of protest against his being deposed as mayor.

Elections

Another major complaint of the West Bank's chambers of commerce is the fact they do not hold elections every four years as stipulated in their own by-laws. The last elections in any chamber was held in 1972. Since then both Jordanian and Israeli officials have been happy not to rock the boat and to keep the heads of chambers the way they are. Merchants say that the present boards of chambers of commerce benefit from their positions and thus are not keen to have elections that might result in their removal.

Zafir Masri denies the charge of resisting elections. "We prepared a list and were ready for elections but the authorities refused to allow us," he says. Masri says that the Israeli officer in charge of business and commerce who has taken the place of the Jordanian minister of commerce has the right to stop elections. According to Masri, Israeli military officials told chamber members that the present boards are "doing a good job" and should continue.

Masri told *Al Fajr* that since then the chamber has attempted twice to have elections but have been turned down. Masri admitted, however, that no legal action has been taken. "Most of the merchants are happy with us," he claimed.

Taxes

Perhaps the one area where local merchants pressure their chamber is for help in the area of taxes. Merchants complain that the chambers of commerce have not protested strongly enough the high and new taxes. Of major concern to merchants has been the implementation of the 15 percent Value Added Tax which applies in Israel.

One Jerusalem merchant also complained that members of the chamber of commerce's board often accept reductions in their own taxes in return for dropping wide-ranging merchant complaints. The same allegation was repeated by a Nablus merchant.

Dissatisfaction with Jerusalem merchants reached the level that merchants started their own committee as a counter to the Chamber of Commerce. The move of the dissatisfied merchants was so strong that the Jerusalem chamber reached a deal with them in which the representatives were allowed to replace board members who had resigned or died since the last elections.

Future

In addition to internal and external political problems facing West Bank chambers of commerce, the prevailing economic situation had to be dealt with. Since 1967 the West Bank economy has become dependent on Israel and its economy. West Bank cities like Ramallah and Jericho which depended largely on summer and winter vacationers from all over the Arab world have had to change pace and try to develop some kind of small industrial economy.

Control of the economic situation in the West Bank remains in the hands of the Israelis and Jordanians. Palestinians in the West Bank continue to fight for a chance to express their opinions whether it be in municipalities, universities or in chambers of commerce.

Grain and spice merchant (left) and a Jerusalem merchant who was forced to close his shop due to high Value Added Tax rates/ SF photo

The last election in any chamber was held in 1972. Since then both Jordanian and Israeli officials have been happy not to rock the boat and to keep the heads of the chambers the way they are.

A highly controversial dialogue between Palestinians from the occupied territories and Israelis affiliated with the International Centre for Peace in the Middle East took place last month at the plush American Colony Hotel in East Jerusalem. *Al Fajr*'s Awad Abdel Fattah and John Richardson interviewed Faisal Husseini of the Arab Studies Centre and Willi Gafni of ICPME for their views of the possibilities and problems associated with the session.

The Parametres of Palestinian-Israeli Dialogue

Q: In your opinion, what is the importance for the Palestinians of participating in dialogues with Israelis?

A: I believe that relations between the Palestinians and the Israelis take two contradictory forms. The first is embodied in the struggle, with all means of weapons, both outside and inside. The second is the level of conducting coordination with certain Israeli elements and groups. In between these two poles there are elements which are either close to the first or to the second, yet below the level of coordination. I believe that it is necessary to have some kind of dialogue and discussion which would aim either to push certain Israeli elements to adopt clearer stands or to expose the real theoretical stands of other elements.

Q: In the meeting which was organised at the American Colony Hotel on March 16 you didn't come out with a joint statement. Does that mean it failed?

A: We, the Palestinian group, had decided before the meeting not to come out with a joint statement because we did not participate in the meeting as representatives.

Q: So what were your definite aims in taking part in this meeting?

A: Among the things which encouraged us to take part in this meeting was the paper which (Labour-Sheli) MK Yossi Sarid presented in the symposium two months ago at Harvard University in the US. We saw the necessity of discussing the shortcomings in the paper.

We noted that Sarid pointed out twice that the right of self-determination for the Jewish people must be in 'Zion' and in another place he mentioned the term 'homeland' while he was satisfied with merely mentioning the right of the Palestinians to self-determination without specifying where.

Husseini: "Dialogue is necessary either to push certain Israeli elements to adopt clearer stands or to expose the real theoretical stands of other elements."

Q: What was your response to these vague points and others which were raised by the Israelis?

A: Sarid said that Israel must negotiate with anyone who accepts this principle (recognition of both people's right to self-determination). We said that he tries to view the PLO as one of several Palestinian elements, which means going back to the refusal of the Labour Party and the Likud to recognise the PLO as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. We also said that the victim cannot be asked to recognise the occupier.

Sarid also said that the PLO must stop its "terrorist actions." We responded that terrorism is not part of the PLO and that Israel carried out and still carries out terrorist actions against the Palestinian people.

Our presence in the meeting was to present a Palestinian stand to expose and condemn the policies of the Labour and the Likud parties and not to reach a common point or understanding between the two sides. We told the Israelis there who fall within the circle of the Labour Party: "You have ignored the Palestinian people, its will and right to self-determination, and you are still unable to get out of the trap in which you have put yourselves and so you try to find an alternative to the PLO in the occupied territories. Despite your talking about your readiness to change this line, you are still falling under the old ideas, and this is used by the Likud to further its policy. The only thing you have to do is face the Israelis in the street and tell them that no peace can be achieved without talking to the Palestinians through their legitimate representative."

The Israelis held that the Palestinians must make a new initiative, such as recognition by the PLO of Israel, to help the Israelis (present their) stand in the Israeli street. We told them that the victim cannot give up its right and offer services to the occupier in order to solve its problems — and contradictions.

Concerning the solution proposed by the Labour Party, which is known as the 'Jordanian option,' we told them no option is acceptable to the Palestinian people other than the 'Palestinian option.' We said to them that the fact that the Labour Party for 'security reasons' doesn't adopt a policy of complete withdrawal and the establishment of a Palestinian state in fact gives the Likud larger scope to manoeuvre against them. In other words if the Labour Party endorses the idea of 'security' then the Likud will have to say that there is no need for withdrawal at all so that no danger to the security of the state would emerge in the future.

Q: Don't you think that the Labour Party will use this meeting in its elections propaganda?

A: This is possible. Obviously, we should not allow our willingness to talk to Israelis to be exploited for narrow party interests. But the Labour Party cannot use such dialogues for propaganda purposes in the Israeli street, simply because talking to pro-PLO elements in the territories is not very popular among Israeli Jews. For our part, it is in our interest to neutralise this as an election issue which is something we can do simply through establishing contact with all opposition elements in Israel indifferently.

Q: One of the reasons cited by Palestinians who criticised the meeting is that the time is not right. What do you think about that?

A: I think it was the convenient time for this meeting because the Israelis think the PLO has become weak and consequently the Palestinian option has also become weak. And I believe this is what motivated the Israelis' initiative. We wanted to show them that this thinking is wrong and that their problem can be solved only through recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

Q: Don't you think that such meetings will encourage anybody in the occupied territories to be involved in dialogue with Israelis of all different political directions, including those who don't show minimum support for the rights of the Palestinians?

A: Contacts anyway happen freely in the occupied territories with Israelis to discuss political problems related to the Palestinian cause. We should not judge the contact itself but the nature of the contact and relations. If anyone goes beyond the national consensus which is agreed on by the Palestinians then they should be brought to task, but as long as they maintain the basic demands of the Palestinian people in their discussion and coordination nothing can be wrong.

Q: In your opinion, are there only certain Israeli elements or groups with whom you think Palestinians should be allowed to talk?

A: I believe it is not wrong to discuss on an individual basis with any Israeli elements or party if they ask for that, as long as I do not surrender my principles. But in relation to cooperation and coordination I think this must be done with the forces or elements which show minimum support for the rights of the Palestinian people.

Q: Where do you think these contacts will lead?

A: The Palestinian slogan which was voiced after 1967 is the slogan of the secular democratic state. I don't think this slogan was pure propaganda but based on deep conviction because this is the solution to which the Palestinians aspire.

But the Israeli people didn't accept this proposed solution and then the slogan of the independent Palestinian state as a first stage was raised. In my opinion, the Palestinian democratic secular state will be reached only when the majority of the Israelis become convinced and this will not be achieved except through discussion and dialogue with the other camp.

We who are under occupation have access to this discussion with the Israelis; therefore we have to exercise this role with deep understanding and with full awareness that we finally want to reach the democratic secular Palestine. We have to sow the seeds of this state from now on, through disseminating this idea and developing it in the eyes of the residents of Palestine.

Q: How do you evaluate the meeting and with what results have you come out?

A: First of all, we are satisfied with the fact that we explained our stand as Palestinians on the solution of the Palestinian problem and what we think about official Israeli policy and that of the Labour Party. Although we have not reached common ground to resume our discussion of various issues, we will continue to talk to democratic Israeli forces.

We, the Palestinian groups, came to the conclusion that we should organise ourselves and initiate discussions with democratic Israelis. We should not let the Israelis always be the initiators of such meetings.

We believe that we should put forward a clear task, which is to present the Palestinian perspective in meetings, symposia, lectures and demonstrations which are organised by the Israelis in Israeli towns, universities, clubs, etc. We have to go and prove the existence of the Palestinian people. We have to discuss with Israelis in these places and occasions.

At the same time we have to send invitations to our meetings and demonstrations to Israelis who support the establishment of an independent Palestinian state.

Q: How do you see the history of dialogue over the past decade?

A: Over the past decade we are facing a very interesting problem. There is always a political dream, a political aspiration. And the political dream of the Palestinian people and its leadership was actually to return to all the territories. It has been stated so in the Palestinian Covenant. It is alright for a people to have a dream. But there is always the political reality. And unfortunately the Palestinian leadership has united the dream and the policy. And as long as the policy of the Palestinian leadership was to achieve this goal (of return) there was actually no place for any dialogue or understanding.

It is true that the Jewish people also have a dream, and a goal which was Greater Israel — and even greater than it is today. Including Jordan. But the Israeli leadership was more pragmatic and more realistic and did not turn the dream into a policy, until the change of government in 1977 in Israel where the dream has become an official policy and therefore a political immobility. And there is no way to come to some compromise, whereas the Palestinian leadership has started to become more pragmatic, more realistic, and there is a drift between the dream and the policy. In the last decade it was very hard to have any kind of dialogue.

Therefore it was the task of individuals from both sides to try in this very difficult situation to sense each other out, to sense out the possibility for compromise. But unfortunately the success was very small. It was unsuccessful and today the extremists on both sides have the upper hand in policy-making.

Q: Who are the participants in the dialogue? A Palestinian characterised the participants at the last dialogue meeting as representing the national consensus whereas the Israelis only represent a minority within a minority.

A: I see this dialogue not as negotiations. I believe that those dialogues should pave the way to an understanding of the positions, the obstacles and the factors that are in common and can be overcome. But I want to emphasise that on both sides even if the Palestinians represent the national concensus they do not represent decision-making power and the dialogue was not arranged to meet with them as such.

I think that one of the biggest mistakes that both sides have done is to enclose themselves in cliches and dogma. In such a tragic situation I think that it is of the utmost importance to try and find any loophole, any issue that can be agreed upon in order to minimalise the conflict which is already tremendous. The Israelis do not trust that the Palestinians, even if they get what they want, will not consider it as an interim stage towards the greater goal of a secular democratic Palestine.

They, on the other hand, do not trust and do not believe that the Israelis are ready to divorce themselves from the occupation and that there will be a truthful, peaceful solution.

Answering your question directly, let us see the political structure of both nations. And here we really have to face reality. Israel still is an open, democratic country in which public opinion is important, in which media is important and public opinion can be influenced. And as I emphasised before we are not negotiating. We are in a way a political minority but we are a very strong moral voice in Israeli public opinion. And if we have not succeeded until today to change public opinion — even this last dialogue we had was met with great difficulties to have it — I repeatedly come to the Israelis and say two things: there is to whom to talk and there is about what to talk. At this last dialogue we had there were only Israelis who agree as a minimum to self-determination for the Palestinians; to a territorial solution and attempts to solve the conflict in a peaceful way.

Q: You mentioned areas of common ground. Can you give examples?

A: We believe that this still has to be proved but we believe that many Palestinians are ready for the two-state solution, and a 1967 border solution to the security problem to the satisfaction of the Israelis. This has come up already with contacts we have had with Palestinians in the occupied territories and with some Palestinian leaders abroad. I think that this is very encouraging. And I know that many of the Israelis who meet with Palestinians in unofficial meetings and hear those things, not from the Israelis but from the Palestinians are getting slowly, slowly, more convinced that such a solution can be acceptable.

Q: The three points you mentioned are in fact the official position of the PLO. At the last dialogue it was mentioned repeatedly that the Palestinians have accepted this in the Brezhnev and Fez plans and that it is your responsibility to get the Israeli side to the table.

A: This is perhaps one of the best points to explain why dialogue is neccessary. This issue came up in the dialogue and all the Israelis — and by the way including me who is an expert on the subject so to speak, had one argument against it: you have to be a political science scholar and an expert on all the documents to make the relation between the Brezhnev plan, what was said in Rabat and what was said in Fez. When we are dealing with a psychological problem, with changing public opinion, things have to be said simply, directly and by the people who have the power to say it.

You cannot take ordinary Israelis from Dimona or Kiryat Shemona and refer him to the Brezhnev plan. This is too sophisticated and complex for him. What he wants to know is very simple. What does Arafat say. He will not be indirect. He wants to know what Arafat says, what Abu Jihad says, what Abu Iyad says, what Habash says, what Hawatmeh says. And another question that the Israelis including myself are asking themselves is — If Arafat says something what will Habash and Hawatmeh's reaction be. Will they be in accordance?

Unfortunately, and I think our tragic history is proving it, we don't have charismatic leaders or statesmen on either side. They are politicians and we have to face reality. This is the reality we are living in. So we are dealing with politicians who have to take into consideration their constituencies and cannot make dramatic, courageous and statesmenlike decisions.

Q: But whatever you say about the political position of the whole spread of Palestinian leaders there is a policy position and one which, according to the few public opinion polls that have been conducted, enjoys a great deal of local public support. So aren't the Palestinians running on the spot waiting for the Israelis to catch up?

A: If I may answer on the part of Israeli people not experts, so far we have not heard from any official source of the PLO a concrete demand or suggestion or policy of the two-state solution. All those things are being said unofficially, which in itself is also good. I understand the problems officials have to get up and declare such things. But to answer the question directly... what is being said officially? Exactly as no Israeli government, including the opposition, has ever said officially what their official intentions are. This is where the dialogue becomes so important.

I would like to add a suggestion as an Israeli, if I may, to the Palestinians: dealing with a democratic society, an open society where public opinion is so important, the Palestinians should make a better presentation of their case to the Israelis because it takes an expert to understand that the Palestinians really mean, or most of them at least mean sincerely, to put an end to the conflict on the basis of a just and peaceful solution. But this has to be brought to Israeli public opinion and it will be wrong if this is done by Israelis. It has to be done by the Palestinians themselves.

Gafni: "You have to be a political scientist to make the relation between the Brezhnev plan, what was said in Rabat...When we are dealing with a psychological problem, things have to be said simply..."

Q: What form should this presentation take?

A: Very simple. I am ready, or we in the ICPME are ready, to organise public meetings all over the country to which we would invite Palestinian speakers to present their case and to state openly the intentions of the policy-makers. We know that they do not represent the official policy-makers or the official establishment. But they can interpret in a more simple everyday way what the Brezhnev plan means.

This could be one way; a second way would be meeting between groups, Palestinians and Israelis. I've said many times sometimes the distance between Tel Aviv and Ramallah is like the distance between the earth and moon. The Israelis stopped visiting the West Bank. Palestinians are not invited to Israeli homes. I would encourage meetings of Israelis and Palestinians on different levels. Why shouldn't Palestinian and Israeli psychologists meet and talk not only about politics but also about their professions: lawyers with lawyers, teachers with teachers, dentists with dentists. The intelligentsia are opinion-makers, especially in an open society like Israel. It's also true of the Palestinians. The Palestinians also have in many ways an open society. Let them meet at the human level and I'm sure that when you talk about professional problems you will also talk about political problems. This is the best way to convince the Israelis that we can work together and that it is for the benefit of both people that there will be a settlement.

A third stage would be meetings between Palestinian leaders from the occupied territories, and I emphasise the occupied territories not because I think they are a substitute for the leadership of the PLO but because physically it is easier to meet because they are here and we are here. Between leaders in the occupied territories and leaders of the opposition in Israel that can influence the higher echelons of decision-makers.

Another possibility is if we could have a counter-partner among the Palestinians for a deeper, more in-depth research of various aspects of the conflict studied by joint teams of Palestinians and Israelis who are committed more to the common aspect of the conflict and not the divisive aspects of the conflict, to try and solve problems maybe by experts. And I really sincerely say not dominated by Israelis but really mixed, joint teams. We should actually seek today for every possibility of trying to work together, of trying to build trust between the two peoples. And this you can do only by talking.

Q: I understand that some of these projects are going forward after the last session of the dialogue.

A: I personally have been with this problem full-time for seven years. *New Outlook* has been engaged in seeking dialogue for 27 years. The ICPME has been working hard for two years. We so far had two dialogues. We had personal meetings. But as I said before, all this is on such a small scale that when you deal with changing public opinion, we are dealing today with 2.5 or 3 million voters in Israel. This has to spread. Our efforts have to be on a much larger scale. And therefore we, the Israeli partners in the dialogue, got ourselves organised. We have this International Centre for Peace in the Middle East that has at least the mechanism and the infrastructure to prepare the Israeli side of that. I think that it is necessary for the Palestinians to get themselves organised in such a way that they can tackle this informational and educational direction in a more effective way, and for this you need an organisation.

Q: And you seriously see that as a possibility under military occupation?

A: Yes.

Q: One of the points raised about this last session of dialogue was the identification of the ICPME with the parliamentary opposition parties.

A: Extra-parliamentary groups are also represented here. We have in our board members of Peace Now and *Yesh Gvul* and all those extra-parliamentary groups. We are not emphasising only the establishment. If you want we can say the centre has become a kind of umbrella for everyone in Israel who thinks that dialogue is necessary and that we should try a political way of bringing both sides to the table.

Q: Part of the controversy that was aroused by the last dialogue was the fact that it followed the earlier meeting in Harvard in February where Yossi Sarid's statement was taken as the basis of the Israeli position. In fact this statement did not refer to the Palestinians' right to a state in Palestine, while it did refer to the right of the Israelis to a state in Zion. It also reraised the possibility of a Jordanian option. It was seen as purposely avoiding the explicitness which is shown on the Palestinian side.

A: This is perhaps an example of political talk, like referring to the Brezhnev plan. There are many politicians who believe that because the situation is so complicated on both sides for internal political reasons, in order to bring both sides to the table it is better to make a more general statement of intentions and not to get into particulars. This has been the practice on both sides. From politicians it is perhaps alright and I am maybe even convinced that in trying to bring the decision-makers, the ones who will negotiate, to the table it would be better or easier to bring them to the table without having a blueprint of a plan already conditioned.

Q: But on the Palestinian side the state under PLO leadership is almost an article of faith and when a major Israeli document is presented which refers to the Jordanian option and to Israeli demands and refers to Palestinian rights only in inexact terms, this surely must raise for politicians and for members of the intelligentsia major questions.

A: It is very simple. Let the Palestinians come to the table and say we don't agree with that. There is something else. If I remember well the document of Yossi Sarid, it said very simply (that he wanted) recognition of both sides and talks with whoever recognises both sides. Very simple. What kind of solution, political solution, will be decided by both sides. Now when you start the negotiations, everyone comes with his own terms and the negotiations have a nature of trying to compromise somewhere. This document does not exclude the Palestinian state. It's very simple. The borders should be discussed; the nature of Palestinian independence should be discussed; everything should be discussed. Let us find today a wide basis for coming to the table. A wide basis for coming to the table is actually one basic thing — that I should recognise the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, whatever it means. Self-determination can mean an independent state or some kind of federation with Jordan. It can be a confederation between two states and *inshallah* maybe in the future a confederation of Israel, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and the Palestinian state. I think it's open.

But there is one major point here. This is the readiness of both sides to recognise the being and existence of the other side. That's all. Because there is asymmetry here. On the one side the Palestinian Covenant has not been renounced yet; it is still there. On the other hand, we are still keeping the territories. Those are two facts that are on the table.

Q: What's in the future?

A: I am not so sure that I am optimistic. We are still facing very serious problems on both sides in paving the way forward for negotiations. I wish we had more people on the Israeli side who are willing to engage themselves in a dialogue with the Palestinians and likewise on the Palestinian side. It is only by changing public opinion on both sides that the politicians will dare to take the very courageous and needed step of finding one formula or another according to which they will sit together. I would conclude by saying that those on both sides of the dialogue sensible enough, realistic enough and courageous enough should extend their hands to each other.

Industrial decline is a worry for the old manufacturing centres of the West. On the West Bank, Daoud Kuttab of *Al Fajr* found, industry which had barely taken a foothold due to Jordanian obstruction is declining further under occupation.

West Bank and Gaza Industry Suffer the Absence of Investment Institutions, Viable Markets and a National Government

The occupied territories are perhaps unique in the world in that the portion of their Gross National Product provided by industry — already low — has actually declined over the past 20 years. The figure has always been small but according to research by Bir Zeit University's Bakr Abu Kishek in 1979 it dipped to a low of 4.4 percent of the total GNP. In 1965, according to the last available figures on the West Bank economy during Jordanian rule, industry provided six percent of the GNP. In the Gaza Strip the situation has not been much better. Industry's contribution there did not exceed eight percent in the '70s.

Industrialisation in the period before the occupation was slow. In Gaza under Egyptian administration individual investment was permitted but there was little government support. The Jordanian authorities actively obstructed license applications for new industrial firms. Jordanian policy favoured the establishment of industry only in the East Bank and successfully reversed an industrial growth trend which was experienced in the West Bank before 1948. Not only was the Jordanian government reluctant to grant licenses but economic data shows that there was a marked preference for investment in the East Bank attracting much of the West Bank's skilled work force.

State investment in electricity and transport infrastructure was also concentrated on the East Bank. The combination of bureaucratic obstruction and financial incentive resulted in a number of established firms in the West Bank transferring to the East Bank. Nevertheless 10 modern plants, four employing over 100 workers, were established before 1967. The largest among them were the Jordanian Plastic Company in Beit Sahour, Nablus' soap factories and the Jerusalem Cigarette Factory.

Gaza Strip

After 1948, the Gaza Strip found itself cut off from the rest of Palestine and separated from Egypt by the vast Sinai desert. It also had to deal with a massive influx of refugees. With no initiatives being taken on the part of the Egyptian administration, the majority of Gazans became involved in agriculture or fishing. Only two firms were established that employed over 100 workers: the 7-Up soft drink factory and the Ahmad Sharab citrus canning company.

Israeli Occupation

The Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip worsened the stagnation. The war cut off the occupied areas from markets in the Arab world but it also resulted in the disappearance of private or public investment, the emigration of professional and technical workers and the forced opening of domestic markets to mass-produced and highly subsidised Israeli products.

The half-open bridge policy adopted by the Israeli government soon after the occupation provided something of a marketing outlet. But this was not to the advantage of Palestinian businessmen. Israel and Jordan heaped regulations on marketing. One of the major hindrances to industrial exportation was the result of the Arab boycott policy. According to the boycott, the Jordanian authorities insisted that West Bank goods be produced from 'purely Arab' raw materials. With the occupied territories importing over 85 percent of its raw materials from or via Israel — other imports were forbidden — this left the stone-cutting, soap and *samneh* clarified butter industries able to continue significant exports to Jordan.

The closure of outside markets forced Palestinians to look carefully at their besieged local market. The pharmaceutical industry, for example, sells all its production in the West Bank and Gaza and has an annual turnover of JD 1-1.5 million — 25 percent of all drugs sold — according to Iz al-Din Aryan, owner of the Balsam Pharmaceutical Company. Many physicians are shareholders in drug companies. This fact, and their relative cheapness, guarantees a continued market. Other industries, like the Ramallah-based Silvana Chocolate Company, have been successful in the Galilee and Triangle areas.

Balsam Pharmaceutical Company in Ramallah/ OA photo

Despite a relatively high level of prosperity in the occupied territories due to wage labour in Israeli factories, capital is not being accumulated or invested into industry. Both Jordan and Israel have enjoyed growth in industrial development since 1967. The occupied territories have suffered stagnation...

Investment

The growth and success of any industry depends to a large extent on the availability and terms of public and private investment. Soon after its occupation, the Israeli military authorities closed all banks operating in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. This included foreign, Arab commercial banks as well as housing, industrial and agricultural investment banks, thus cutting off the major source of investment. The Palestine Bank of Gaza was recently allowed to open its main Gaza branch but is forbidden from dealing with foreign currency. The two Israeli banks that were awarded monopolies in the West Bank and Gaza Strip have not been involved in industrial investment. With the absence of government or banking investment, industry's backbone became based on private initiative, foreign aid and, later, the joint PLO-Jordan committee funding.

Private funding to Palestinian industry often proved unsuccessful. For example, the shoe and leather industry, concentrated mainly in Hebron, has experienced a 300 percent unit growth since 1967 but only an estimated 70 percent increase in revenue, due to a high failure rate among establishments. According to the UN industrial survey, over 50 percent of the 670 firms in the shoe industry were one-man operations.

Foreign development aid which is funnelled to the West Bank and Gaza Strip after Israeli military approval has not resulted in communal development, according to a recent study by an Israeli researcher. The Israeli military government "completely altered the intended focus of the funding," according to *The Jerusalem Post*. "While the intention of the voluntary organisations was to invest 45.8 percent of their funding in economic development and only 30 percent in public works, the Israeli authorities reversed the proportions so that 30 percent went to economic development and 44 percent for public works," wrote the *Post*. Benvenisti, the researcher, also found that only one-third of the industrial projects proposed were finally approved by the occupation authorities.

In 1978 the Jordanian-PLO joint committee was set up to fill the gap in economic investment and to support Palestinian steadfastness. But the committee has had trouble fulfilling its plans. Only half of the proposed US$300 million fund materialised because of non-payment of Arab countries. And most of the funds that made it through to the occupied territories was earmarked for education, housing and relief.

According to Israeli military orders in force in the occupied territories no PLO funding, whether full or in part, is allowed into the occupied territories. The Israeli authorities also ban all Palestinians coming from Jordan from carrying more than US$2000, no matter the source. Cash in excess of that sum is confiscated until the authorities are satisfied with the origin and purpose of the money. The occupation authorities also restrict funding from all other areas, whether Arab or foreign.

Not only funding but licenses for development and industrial projects are controlled by the Israeli officer in charge of industry within the military government apparatus.

Municipal industrial zones, a major necessity for any industrial development, have been purposely neglected by the Israeli authorities. A plan by the Hebron municipality for an industrial area was rejected in 1978. Successive Hebron mayors — Fahd Qawasmeh, who was expelled in 1980, and Mustafa Natshe, who was deposed in 1983 — repeatedly asked for approval for the industrial zone but were turned down. A 1977 request for a license for a US$30 million cement factory in Hebron was also repeatedly refused by military authorities for no reason.

The West Bank industry is dominated by the family firm. With the organisation of Palestinian industry being primarily in small shops of 10 workers or less, competition from Israeli government-backed large industries is lop-sided. The connection between Israel's banking institutions and its industry are very strong. According to a 1983 report by Hillel Frisch prepared for the 'West Bank and Gaza Data Base Project' run by Israeli Meron Benvenisti, "government intervention in Israeli industry has been and remains massive, providing everything from export subsidies and subsidised credit to government surety bonds and worker training allowances." Frisch adds that the Israeli government provides substantial tax breaks for favoured Israeli industries.

On the other hand, the military government has given virtually no financial support to Palestinian industry although in the early years of occupation the Israeli Labour government did grant loans which between 1969 and 1972 totalled a meagre US$ half million. In 1980 loans were completely excised from the Israeli military government's budget.

Beneficiaries of these loans were big firms like the National Textile Company, Cremisan, the Beit Jala wine distillery company, the Jordanian Plastic Company in Beit Sahour, the Palestine Pharmaceutical Firm in Beit Jala, and Ramallah's Silvana chocolate and Ohansian's paper goods factory.

The high emigration rate of educated Palestinians has also had its toll on the industrial scene. According to a study prepared for the Arab Thought Forum in Jerusalem, only 119 university graduates were employed in the industrial sector in 1980. Even in the area of skilled manpower the study shows that only 30 percent of the West Bank labour power is skilled. Despite the boom in Palestinian higher education, local industry, it seems, has been unable to absorb new graduates. The small number of technical middle colleges and polytechnics is a contributory factor. A high proportion of graduates of the Hebron Polytechnic, the only one in the West Bank, have found jobs in industry, according to Hillel Frisch.

The problems facing industry in the occupied territories give serious cause for concern. Despite a relatively high level of prosperity in the occupied territories due to wage labour in Israeli factories, capital is not being accumulated or invested into industry. Both Jordan and Israel have enjoyed continuous growth in industrial development since 1967. The occupied territories, on the other hand, have suffered stagnation if not actual decline over the same period. The absence of financial institutions, commercial banks and industrial development banks is sorely felt. The absence of any viable marketing avenue and the continued influx of Israeli products in the restricted areas of the West Bank and Gaza have also enforced a situation of economic dependence.

In the absence of a national government, the longer all these problems exist the more difficult it will be to place roots for a strong and productive industrial economy.

Reflections of the Political Reality on Palestinian and Israeli Literature

Salman Natour: "Even when we talk about bread we are talking about politics. All that happens is politically motivated. How then can there be a literature that does not relate to politics?"

A forum titled "Reflection of the Political Situation on Arab and Israeli Literature" was held Wednesday, November 19 at Beit Hilel in the Hebrew University. Writer Aharon Megid spoke on Israeli literature while Salman Natour spoke on Palestinian literature in the forum sponsored by the Arab-Jewish Centre. This is the first in a series of cultural and political meetings in which individuals from both peoples will take part. The forum moderater was student Walid Malla. Following are the papers presented by both writers:

Aharon Megid

I would like to begin my speech by referring to a story in translation from the book *And We Haven't Forgotten* written by my colleague Salman Natour, published in *Eiton* 77. It is a story of an old man talking about his village, Ein Houd, that became an artists village after the Israelis came and expelled its Arab residents. He also talks about the mosque which was turned into a bar with a half-naked girl serving drinks. He also talks about an artist, Etshi Mabosh, who told the owner of the Arab home he now lives in that he should thank him for keeping up the house and fixing it, etc.

This story is fictional and critical at the same time. We understand from it that the Arabs in the village were expelled but he did not write that this event was justified. Whoever reads the story forgets that there was a war and that it was not us who started it. But this is not what I wanted to say because I do not want to get into a discussion of right or wrong.

When I read the story I remembered a similar one, *The Treasure*, which I wrote in 1949 and published with my first collection *Winds of the Sea*. It talks about an Arab farmer who lived in a refugee camp. At night he would sneak into his village. I was imagining the village of Safourieh (today it is Zifori C settlement), where new immigrants from Romania and Hungary came to settle. They come to a foreign place. The Arab sneaks into the village to search for a treasure he hid in a well. When he gets to the house, several things start coming to his mind which I tried to portray as follows:

The Arab would say, "If they catch me then I'll cry and plea for mercy: '*Khawaja, Khawaja*. What would it hurt if I was here? I beg you, in God's name. God is one, lord of Abraham, Isma'il, Isaac and our prophet Moses. You are a believer like me, *khawaja*, and you are a good man. All the Jews are good, I swear by my beard. You are all good and it is good you came here. We, the Arabs, are like manure, not worth even camel or donkey manure. God damn the army of salvation, the *Kawouqji*, King Abdullah, King Farouq, and this one in Syria (I forget his name), and the Mufti who caused us all these problems. Let me just stay here. I give you the house, the trees and everything, as if you were born here, not like you came from Germany, and as if you own the donkey and the plough. I'll cry like a baby. I'll stay here and work for you. One day maybe I'll travel to Nazareth'."

A sound comes from the room. Footsteps are heard. Suleiman is frightened. He leans close to the wall watching the movement of the shadow in the dark room closely: "I can kill him and run to the mountains." Shortly afterwards he notices a shadow of a woman lighting a small oil lamp on a table in the room that once was his room. "They occupied the house," the Arab says. "The iron bar is still in place in the wall, the stones are the same and the dry plant is still in the corner. That damn foreign woman has come to this place."

He'll jump in through the window and cut her throat, her breasts and stomach with his knife. She will scream but he will not have mercy on her. She will bleed all over the floor and he will enjoy it and feel satisfied. He will stamp all over her body and destroy the oil lamp. He will throw the lighted wick on her dress. The bed cover will catch fire and the whole home will blaze. The fire will spread to the other houses and yards and the whole village and mountain will burn.

This is how Suleiman thinks. Sometimes he feels he wants he kill those who occupied his home. Other times he thinks maybe he should plead with them so they'll let him in.

I wrote this story one year after the (1948 war). It could be said that this story discusses a political subject. But I want to make a distinction here between stories that talk about political situations and the expression of political views. This distinction is necessary if we are to see the difference between literary and non-literary works.

I do not believe there are stories about 'political situations' but that there are stories on 'human situations.' The human being is the subject of literature, the content of which is the relationship between people, not views and stances. If positions were taken they penetrated the story indirectly.

We can say that Hebrew literature has been political since 1948. The stories by S. Yazhar, Amos Oz, A.B. Yehoshua and Yitzhak Ben Nir could be considered political but they do not reflect political reality. To understand these stories we should ask what leads the writer to write them. Is it his political position? If this were the reason, we would see today an outpouring of literature like that we had during the Renaissance period, like the writings of Weinburg and Smelanski.

These writers had certain ideological beliefs such as the return of the Jews to Israel. They based their writing on the belief that it is the duty of the writer to direct and educate the masses. Such literature is different from contemporary works. We look at literature as any act that expresses inner feelings of psychological distress.

I was asked: 'In addition to being a writer, you are also a journalist writing a weekly column for a newspaper?' Yes, I express my views through my newspaper columns. So what is the difference between my journalistic writings and my literary work?

The initial difference is that when you write for a newspaper, you express your opinions directly because you are talking to the reader as orator. In literature there is nothing like this. As a writer, you are writing about people. You have to empathise with them and understand their feelings. You have to understand that the human being you are writing about is not a political creature. Politics is part of him but he has other sides too.

In Hebrew literature there are many stories that empathise with the victims, that is the Arabs, as in the stories of Yazhar, Oz and a tale by David Grosman published recently. This tale talks about an Arab who was killed in the West Bank. It is a beautiful book in which the writer empathises with the Arab.

If the writer can empathise with his main characters, he will not be able to judge them through their political positions. The more you understand them, the more you forgive them. In my story *The Bat*, the positions of the main character contradict mine. He is a fascist, completely different from me. In the beginning I was planning to write a satire. But as I wrote more about him, I understood him better. He is not a caricature.

I am sorry to say that I only know a little about Arab literature. But I read an important book by Shamoun Ballas about Arab literature. The impression was that the character of Jews in this literature is caricatured — barbaric soldiers, whores, crimes of Jews against Arabs. This is called the literature of posters and propaganda.

I do not judge literature as I do columns because the latter falsify the truth. This is the difference between literature and journalism. This is summarised in the following:

1) The personal motive for writing;

2) Empathy with the main characters and understanding all sides of that character.

My hope is that as we go along this road, we will be able to rid literature of this political misery.

Salman Natour

It would be easy for me to start like my colleague, Aharon Megid, did. But I am going to choose the difficult road, to present a short portrait of Palestinian literature and discuss our topic: the relationship between literature and politics.

It is a sad reality that the history of Palestinian literature is directly related to wars and tragedies. We divide this history according to the wars imposed on the Palestinian people. This is contrary to the Hebrew literature which is divided into 'pre-independence' and 'post-independence' stages. The people of Israel has but one independence; but the history of the Palestinian people is full of tragedies and each one leaves a mark on our literature.

Hebrew literature is written in an independent and sovereign nation but Palestinian literature is written in the midst of wars, tragedies and occupation. This is a fundamental difference between both. What happened in 1948 was not a mere war. It was a catastrophe, followed by the catastrophes in 1967 and 1970 in Jordan, and 1982 in Lebanon. This is the political reality the Palestinian people, fighters, politicians, writers and artists have to live. It is only natural that this reality will be reflected in our literature.

I do not believe in what is called the 'beautiful literature,' in the way we were told earlier. This kind of writing is an attempt to escape from reality, particularly the political reality and issues of life facing the writer and his society. Isn't the escape from political reality in itself a political position?

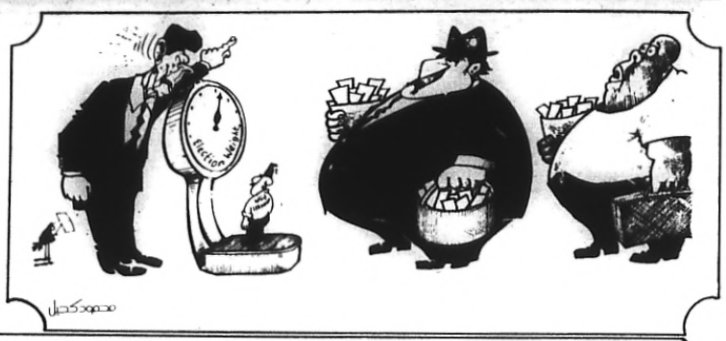
It is difficult for me to imagine, in our present situation, a Palestinian writer publishing a story or poem that does not relate to his reality, particularly the political situation. It is also hard for me to imagine an individual who is not political, or a non-political situation. Even when we talk about bread we are talking about politics. All that happens is politically motivated. How then can there be a literature that does not relate to politics?

A Palestinian poet was once asked: 'Why don't you write romantic poems?'

He answered: 'I live in Nablus and travel every day to Jerusalem. When I leave my home, I try to think of a love poem. I start working on one but soon I get stopped at an army checkpost. There I come face-to-face with the occupation soldier who orders me to get out of the car to search and humiliate me. Then I come to another roadblock

continued on page 13

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS



Rising tension on the Syrian-Israeli front lines in Lebanon, the aftermath of the attack in Jerusalem and the Palestinian organisations' talks in Aden were main stories in the local press this week.

Al Sha'ab, Al Quds and Al Mithaq dedicated their top story April 7 to reports from Beirut that Israel and Syria are reinforcing their troops in the Beqa'a Valley.

Details of the Israeli police investigation of the armed attack in Jerusalem including reports of the involvement of an American woman in the attack was given front page coverage in Al Quds.

Al Fajr gave a lot of coverage to the PLO unity meetings in Aden. The 22-article Fatah proposal presented to the PFLP and DFLP was detailed.

Towards Aden

Reports said the meetings of the Palestinian groups in Aden were successful and came up with several important decisions that express our people's aspirations. In them unity in the PLO was stressed and a nationalist front was called for in the PLO that would include all the Palestinian revolutionary groups.

The statement by the four major Palestinian groups represents the line of the Palestinian revolution. The statement denounced the inter-Palestinian fighting and called for democratic dialogue to resolve all differences. It also attacked the Palestinian rightists.

The agreement on this statement proves that their line is correct and allows them to take a leading position to save the ship from sinking due to the policies of rightist Palestinians.

These four organisations have taken it upon themselves to call for a meeting of all Palestinian groups, including the opposition, to elect a new PLO Executive Committee after the revolution continued for several months without one and after Fatah failed to stop Yasir Arafat, who met Egyptian President Husni Mubarak in Guinea and offered his 'forces' to help Ja'afar Numeiri to fight the revolution in the southern region of Sudan.

The support that Arafat receives from the reactionaries does not mean he can do anything he wants. And when Fatah fails to stop him this does not mean the other groups will not be able to play their role.

The Aden meeting does not represent any attempt to hegemonise or to make individual decisions. This is simply because the organisations meeting there have suffered a great deal from the policies of the Palestinian rightists. Now is the time to remove Arafat from his position.

AL MITHAQ
April 4

Beware a New Adventure

Defence minister Moshe Arens issued a belligerent statement against Syria during a tour of his invading forces in Lebanon on Tuesday. After he charged Syria of being responsible for the Lebanese resistance to the occupation he said Israel will not allow a war of attrition against it in Lebanon.

Prime minister Yitzhak Shamir also took the opportunity of an appearance at the Hebrew University meeting of the Board of Trustees to warn Damascus that it is becoming a centre for terrorism. Look who is talking about terrorism!

George Shultz, the US secretary of state, attacked Syria on Tuesday saying Syria and Libya are giving full support to terrorism.

Is it a coincidence that all three statements were made on one day? Is it a coincidence also that they coincide with a decision by US President Reagan to send 14 warships to the eastern Mediterranean?

Shultz acknowledged in his speech that the US-Israeli plan in Lebanon failed when the Israeli-Lebanese agreement was cancelled and the multinational force was forced to leave Lebanon as the anti-Israeli resistance grew and the fascists in Lebanon, the Phalangists, were not able to control the country.

Why don't the leaders of Israel and the US learn from this failure and respect the will and sovereignty of the Lebanese, Palestinian and Arab peoples? But does the mule have the brains of the prince?

Israel's leaders, deep in their quagmire in Lebanon and in their economic and political crises, are trying to hide their failure with another mad adventure. By this they are exposing the Lebanese and Israeli people and peace in this region and the world to danger. The hot-headed politicians should remember what was recently said in the Syrian-Soviet communique that Syria is ready to confront any attempted aggression, fully backed by its friend the Soviet Union. They cannot know in advance the result of their adventure unless they get into one.

We urge all peace forces in Israel, regardless of their political affiliation, to act to prevent the government from entering a new adventure that may lead to a serious new war. This is an immediate duty until the government is changed.

AL ITTIHAD
April 5

The Politics of Israeli Cemeteries

Recent reports in the Israeli press said that Israel plans to build a new cemetery for Israelis in the West Bank.

With our respect to the dead of all religions, this decision does not emanate from the lack of land in West Jerusalem or anywhere else in Israel. This location was chosen for political reasons.

The new site allocated for the cemetery is part of a 3000-dunum plot expropriated from its Palestinian owners and considered government property since 1982. Expropriating this land is in itself a violation of present international laws.

The 'known secret' for choosing the location in the West Bank is to increase Israeli roots in this region. It would be possible to dismantle the Israeli settlements in the occupied territories but who would dare to ask that the dead be removed from their graves, whoever they are?

Israel very clearly wants to beef up its presence in the occupied territories, hiding behind the most imaginary excuses.

AL FAJR
April 6

ALiving-dead Initiative

If the initiative that carries US President Ronald Reagan's name were still alive, Reagan would not have had to stress Wednesday that it still exists even though he knows that all parties have rejected it.

The American president may be standing behind his initiative, bringing it to life every now and then for election reasons or to give evidence that his policies in this region are successful. But all the facts indicate that this policy is moving in one direction only — support of Israel. This is the main reason for its failure and loss of credibility.

President Reagan confirmed that King Hussein refused to hold negotiations based on the American initiative. So which of the Arab countries does the US want to persuade that it is possible to have a neutral US in the Arab-Israeli conflict, particularly if we bear in mind Lebanon's abrogation of the May 17 agreement it signed with Israel?

The US, undoubtedly, realises that events have moved beyond Reagan's initiative. By keeping silent towards Israeli practices in the occupied lands, refusing to negotiate or hold contacts with the PLO and by continuing its unconditional support of Israel, the US and Israel are considered the same. The US has to change 180 degrees in its policies before it will be able to persuade anyone of its neutrality or the seriousness of its efforts in this region.

AL QUDS
April 6

Independence is What we Want

Commenting on Meron Benvenisti's recent report on US aid to the West Bank, a US consulate spokesperson in East Jerusalem stated that the aid issue is controversial since many Palestinians claim its objective is to 'pacify' the indigenous Palestinian population while the Israelis claim that the US is using it to lay the ground for a Palestinian state.

It is a respectable Israeli and not a Palestinian research organisation that came to the conclusion that US aid to the occupied territories helps Israel's policy of pacifying the local Palestinian population rather than fostering community development.

How can anyone, Israeli or Palestinian, claim that the few million dollars allocated by the US to aid the occupied territories is enough to lay the foundation of a state when that amount would not be enough to finance a decent small project?

How can this meagre aid contribute to the establishment of a Palestinian state when the Israelis control how it is implemented, approve, disapprove or delay various projects as well as alter the emphasis of many projects? Moreover, only 40 percent of the proposed projects in agriculture are approved by the Israeli authorities, while 33.3 percent of those in industry are approved.

The over US$5 million in US yearly aid to the occupied territories is insignificant compared to the US$2.25 billion of official US aid to Israel. This huge amount is only a portion of overall US aid to Israel — aid that takes various forms and that includes technology transfers, favourable commercial terms, tax exempt status to the US-Jewish corporations that provide aid to Israel and the list could go on.

Finally, if the US really wants to help us in the occupied territories, we do not want monetary aid; we want the US, the country that claims to be the bastion of freedom in the world, to help us achieve our own freedom.

AL FAJR
April 7

The Immediate Mission

It is becoming clear now that the Palestinians cannot wait any longer without further divisions.

Quick action is now needed to rebuild national unity inside the PLO. We are sure that what unites the independent Palestinian organisations is much greater than that which divides them and that their chances of agreement are better than those of disagreement. There is no reason why they should not speed up reaching a national understanding based on past experiences.

There is a firm basis to guarantee this understanding. This is found in the decisions of the Palestine National Council in its 10th session.

Resuming dialogue in the hope of reaching a common strategy and the isolation of agents who work for Arab intelligence and who committed massacres against our people is the most urgent mission which cannot wait any longer.

AL SHA'AB
April 9

IN LEBANON

New Checkposts Policy

Israel is maintaining a new policy for the passage of Lebanese citizens to Israel from Lebanon following the arrival of commandos who carried out the attack in Jerusalem from south Lebanon through the border posts in the north.

Unlike in the past, dozens of Lebanese citizens were denied entry visas. According to the new policy, only Lebanese inhabitants who have a concrete reason for visiting Israel will be permitted in.

The Israeli army has greatly reduced controls on the transit of civilians and goods at the Awali River crossings. Big merchants who pass daily between the south and north are issued special visas in order to ease their transit. (Translation: Ha-Aretz, April 6, 1984).

continued from page 2

ISRAEL REVENGE RAID

Syrian Social National Party (SSNP). The arms cache escaped intact. Foreign journalists were told by a commander in the SSNP that they suffered no casualties. The DFLP said that none of its positions were hit. Reporters, however, said that a number of civilian targets, including a restaurant, were damaged.

The air raid coincided with an increased military build up and a full state of alert on both sides of the front line in the Beqa'a Valley. Tension on the front lines prevailed after repeated threats from Israeli officials, mainly defence minister Moshe Arens, who recently warned that "Israel would not be dragged into a war of attrition and the Syrians know this."

In an interview with Israel Radio in south Lebanon April 3 Arens blamed Syria for the military attacks on Israeli troops in south Lebanon.

Fighting across the green line in Beirut continued despite repeated attempts to arrange for a lasting ceasefire. The longest ceasefire arrangement lasted for 15 hours April 10. According to the *Associated Press*, the new flare-up in fighting came after a Lebanese soldier was killed by sniper fire. The initial exchange of small arms fire developed into artillery duels.

Earlier in the week the Progressive Socialist Party's *Voice of the Mountain* reported Lebanese army and Phalangist militiamen made several attempts to advance across the demarcation line in Beirut but were repelled each time.

The burnt car of Sheikh Ali Taziz, chairperson of the West Bank chambers of commerce, following April 7 sabotage/AO photo

Car of Chamber of Commerce Chief Arsoned

Unidentified people blew up the car of Chairperson of the West Bank Chambers of Commerce Sheikh Ali Taziz shortly after midnight April 7. The 1982 Volvo was blown up as it was parked at the back of Taziz's luxury Azariya house near the Jerusalem-Jericho road, a few kilometres from Ma'aleh Adumim settlement.

Taziz told *Al Fajr* that he and members of his family heard an explosion at midnight. They ran to the rear of the house and found the car blazing. They failed to extinguish the fire and the car was completely burned out.

Taziz told *Al Fajr* that the saboteurs apparently infilitrated through a side gate and placed explosives in the engine. Shrapnel was found around the car. Taziz believes that the bomb was Israeli-made.

Shlomo Peled, head of the Israeli police investigation division in Bethlehem, told *Al Fajr* the bomb was not of Israeli manufacture. He said investigations are underway.

Fa'eq Barakat, director of the Arab Chamber of Commerce in Jerusalem, condemned the attack. He told *Al Fajr* he believes an Israeli terrorist group is responsible for the blast. Barakat said the attack is "criminal, to silence men of courage and firmness."

Taziz, who is also a member of the boards of trustees of Abu Dis Science College and Ma'had al-Arabi School, dismissed the idea that Arabs could be behind the attack on his car. He said it is one in a wave of terror acts against Islamic and Christian targets in Azariya over the past few months.

Mohammed Shamsneh, 80

April 12 marked the 40th day after the death of the popular poet Mohammed Issa Shamsneh, 80.

Shamsneh was prominent in the 1936 revolution and was imprisoned several times. His son, Ayoub Shamsneh, mourned him:

In eyes' tears we lament you,
in heart's blood we commemorate you.
My pen is unable to express my great pain.
I am very sad.

Ayoub Shamsneh.

Visitors and locals buy *Al Fajr* Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly for news of the occupied territories. Many important and enjoyable events pass by unnoticed simply because there are no avenues of advertisement available to announce them. *Al Fajr* will change this by offering FREE advertisement space to groups, institutions and individuals who want to let people know what's happening. Ads must be submitted in person at our 2 Hatem Ta'ee Street office or by phoning 281035. Call or stop by today and let us know what you are planning.

Calender of Events

April 13

JERUSALEM — The artists' committee of the Arab Thought Forum sponsors a Palestinian photography exhibit in the afternoon at the Arab Chamber of Commerce.

continued from page 11

Reflections on Literature

and another, until I get to Jerusalem. How then can I write a love poem? Even if I start one, it will fall apart at the checkpost. If I write to my sweetheart of what has happened to me, my poem would become political. Can I then escape from this reality? The impact of the policeman on me is stronger than the feelings of love my sweetheart leaves with me. How then can I not express my feeling correctly?'

Or imagine a poet writing to his lover expressing deep feelings to her. What is to prevent him from seeing her? Maybe the jail or the town arrest imposed on him. How then can he not remember what he cannot get, alongside his warm feelings? At this point the poem has no choice but to be political, whether you like it or not. Otherwise the poet will be accused of fabricating his reality.

In such a situation, the Palestinian poets and writers do their work. Let us take the example of the writer Ghassan Kanafani, considered one of the most distinguished Palestinian writers and a leader among those struggling for their people. Could he have written on a different situation? He has struggled for his mere survival and died in the tragic reality his people live. The writers who live in the occupied territories, can they ignore the people they meet everyday, like the soldier and the settler who stole their land and prohibit them from reaching it?

If the writer writes for his people, then his people will accept nothing less from him than the literature that expresses this situation. There were attempts from official circles in the 1950s to sponsor a defeatist local writing. This work disappeared from our culture. Today the political writers are the ones moving, giving and gaining the appreciation and interest on all levels.

We refuse to distiguish between political literature and the so-called 'beautiful literature' which will strip the individual of his political personality and turn him into a creature operating in an abstract framework like love, happiness, goodness and more.

Aharon Megid distinguished between journalistic writing and literature. He said politics should not be brought into literature directly. He talked about the Hebrew books of Amos Oz and Yehoshua, which he considered beautiful literature. But even those works are political in content. They discuss Arab-Jewish relations from several angles. They also express clear political positions. In international literature there are many books whose best aspect is that they express a political reality. So why can't we consider that literature of slogans?

In my last book *We Haven't Forgotten*, considered by some as literature of slogans, I collected stories from old people on the catastrophe of 1948 and the destruction of 380 Arab villages. I could have secluded myself in a room and written such stories from my imagination. But I discovered that reality was impressive to a degree that I sometimes use quotes from these old people. I consider them artistic quotes that no imagination can express or portray. Every day there are sensitive events that make an important part of literary criticism, particularly in what is called 'beautiful literature.' These old people do not live in refugee camps and can be happy with their lives. But their feelings are full of memories of what has happened after the year of the catastrophe. Sometimes all we are asked to do is to express these feelings without having to use our creative skills to write beautiful literature, according to our realistic understanding of beautiful literature.

Now I am writing a series about Palestinian women martyrs who were killed by the occupation forces. I am not writing about their role in the struggle but about their childhoods and martydom. The realistic writing about these childhoods leaves more impressive feelings among readers. When it is a coincidence that a woman is killed five days before her wedding and a fictitious story is written about her, this coincidence would sound shallow. But when it happens in reality, its impact knows no limits. This literature portrays an impressive political reality. As we face it with enthusiasm, we write about it with enthusiasm as well and our recording of it is read with equal enthusiam. Do you want us to turn our backs on this reality?

Even when we write about normal people or folklore, we will write about simple farmers and paint a picture of their daily lives, away from political events. But what were their lives? Their villages were either destroyed, ending their 'daily lives,' or their land was expropriated. Can our writers stop at the occupation or before the expropriation orders were issued? What comes after their 'daily lives' is part of this life and complements it. It is tragic and political, not for any crime they committed, or because we write it.

WEEKLY REVIEW

April 2, 1984

TWO BALATA STUDENTS IMPRISONED

NABLUS — A Nablus military court sentenced two students, Abd al-Nasser Shari'ah and Yehyia Abu Aisheh, both 16-years old. They were given a six-month prison term and three years suspended sentence on charges of stoning Israeli soldiers.

MURDERER RECEIVES LIGHT SENTENCE

TEL AVIV — An Israeli suspect in the murder of a Nablus girl, Aisha Bahash, was given a three-month prison term by a Tel Aviv court. Another suspect in the case convicted of hiding evidence of the murder from the police was given a 33-month suspended sentence.

TWO NEW SETTLEMENTS

TEL AVIV — The Knesset Settlement Committee approved the establishment of two new settlements in the West Bank and development of a third settlement into a city. The two settlements are Alia, to be built on the Ramallah-Nablus road, and Beni, to be built south of Hebron mountain. Ma'ale Levona settlement, south of Nablus, will be turned into a city, the committee agreed.

YOUTH FINED FOR BEATING POLICE

HAIFA — A juvenile court in Haifa fined Salameh Na'amneh, 15, IS2000 for beating Israeli policemen who came to arrest his brother. Salameh's father also signed an IS25,000 bail to be collected by the police if his son assaults another policeman within two years.

NEW PLO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

ADEN — Abbas Zaki, the PLO's representative in Aden and member of Fatah Revolutionary Council, announced that all the PLO organisations will be invited to attend a meeting in Aden, during which a new PLO Executive Committee will be elected.

FLAG ARRESTS

KUFR QARA' — A 17-year-old Kufr Qara' youth, Rami Fayiz Khalaf, was arrested and several other youths were also summoned by the police for Land Day activities during which the police charge the youths raised Palestinian flags.

ARAB BUSES STONED

JERUSALEM - An Arab bus on the Jerusalem-Beit Hanina road was stoned by Israeli settlers from French Hill. A broken window was reported.

BEIT SAHOUR CARS BOMBED

BEIT SAHOUR — A firebomb was thrown at a car owned by Dr. Nassri Qumsieh. The car was parked in front of his home in Beit Sahour. Another car owned by Antone Shomali was also vandalised twice on Monday night, once with clubs, breaking the windows, and the second time with a firebomb, which failed to explode. Both cars were seriously damaged.

April 3, 1984

YOUTHS ARRESTED

JERUSALEM — Three Palestinian youths from Jerusalem were arrested after an Israeli police car was stoned. The car was stoned near a movie theatre where an explosive device was found.

A Molotov was thrown at an Israeli bus travelling between Ramallah and Beiteen. No damage was reported.

TRAVEL RESTRICTION LIFTED

TEL AVIV — A travel restriction on West Bank residents travelling to Jordan imposed after the Jerusalem military operation was lifted.

HEBRON UNIVERSITY ACCREDITED

HEBRON — The Union of Arab Universities, meeting in Algiers, admitted Hebron University as a member. The decision means the university's diplomas will be recognised internationally.

3 YEARS FOR DEMONSTRATING

GAZA — A Gaza student, Bassam Abu Samhadaneh, was given a three-year prison sentence and fined IS50,000 on charges of demonstrating, activating a suspended term.

The Gaza military court that passed the sentence also sent 35 students to a three-month prison term and fined them IS50,000 each on similar charges.

CORRESPONDENT RELEASED

NABLUS — *Al Mithaq* correspondent in Nablus Ghazi Abu Kishk was released after a four-day detention at the city's military headquarters.

SETTLERS OPEN ROAD THROUGH ARAB LAND

NABLUS — A 50-metre-wide road was opened by Israeli settlers to connect Elon Moreh settlement with Bracha, near Nablus. The road passed through Arab property in nearby villages.

HALF MILLION IN TAXES

JERUSALEM — A vegetable shop owner in the Old City of Jerusalem, Mousa Sub Laban, received orders from the Israeli tax department to pay IS546,310 in taxes as a first payment.

LICENSE FOR WEEKLY MAGAZINE DENIED

The Israeli High Court turned down an appeal by a Jerusalem journalist, Aida Ayyoub, asking that she be given a license to publish a weekly magazine.

The Working Women's Committee kindergarten in Dheisheh refugee camp was raided by the Israeli military April 2 and closed because the children were singing nationalist songs and a slogan was written on the wall — just one incident in a series of harassments against the camp this week/ GB photo

April 4, 1984

ISRAELI SOLDIER STABBED IN JERUSALEM

TEL AVIV — An Israeli soldier was stabbed and slightly wounded in the Old City of Jerusalem last night, Radio Israel reported. The radio claimed an Arab youth stabbed the soldier while walking through the narrow streets of the Old City but the youth was able to get away.

Several people in the neighbourhood were questioned by the police and a shopkeeper near the site of attack was arrested.

EFFORTS CONTINUE TO STOP DEPORTATION OF SHAHIN

WASHINGTON — Palestinian, American and Jewish progressives in the US held a vigil in front of the Israeli Embassy here carrying signs demanding that the Israeli government stop its measures against Palestinian political leader Abu Ali Shahin.

The Committee to Defend Abu Ali Shahin, the US branch, issued statements and cabled officials asking for support in their efforts to prevent the deportation of Shahin. Activities were also reported in Canada by Arab-Canadian groups in support of Shahin.

GAZA YOUTH SENTENCED

GAZA — Gaza's military court sentenced Adnan Rushdi Nakhaleh to a three-year prison term and two more years suspended on charges of membership in a resistance organisation, receiving armed training and participating in the war in Lebanon.

OPERATION WATER FOR GALILEE

TEL AVIV — A spokesperson for the Israeli Water Authority refused comment yesterday to the French news agency, AFP, on reports from Beirut that Israel is getting ready to divert waters from the Litani river in south Lebanon to the Sea of Galilee.

A Lebanese economist has charged that Israel has completed plans to divert 150 million cubic metres of water a year from the Litani to the Galilee to make up for the deficiency in water quantities in Israel.

TAXES CLOSE SHOPS OF CC DIRECTOR

JENIN — Israeli tax officials shut four shops owned by Fathi Fahmawi, Director of Jenin's Chamber of Commerce, under the pretext Fahmawi did not pay tax fines.

Fahmawi cabled Israeli officials explaining that the payment of fines was to be decided upon through negotiations between the Chamber of Commerce, the commerce official and the tax officials.

STUDENTS RELEASED EN MASSE

GAZA — More than 160 students of the Islamic University in Gaza were released from detention late Tuesday night after each signed a personal bail of IS5000. Another 50 students are still in detention at the Israeli army camp in Gaza.

TAX HIGH

DURA — A Dura pharmacy received a bill from the tax department to pay IS10 million in taxes. The owner opened his shop four months ago.

BUS PUNISHED FOR STUDENTS' SONGS

NABLUS — A Nablus bus company was barred by the military from transporting students from Balata refugee camp to Kamal Jumblatt Secondary School in Nablus.

A bus transporting the girl students was grounded four days ago by the military when an Israeli soldier claimed the students on the bus were singing Palestinian national songs and that one student lifted a picture of Yasir Arafat. The students were held on that day for six hours by the military.

CARS VANDALISED IN NABLUS

NABLUS — Several cars parked in front of Nablus homes were vandalised last night. Windows were reported damaged.

BODIES OF FIVE PALESTINIANS FOUND IN BEIRUT

BEIRUT — The decomposed bodies of five Palestinians believed to have been killed during the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in June 1982 were discovered near Na'meh between Beirut and Sidon. The bodies were taken to be buried in the mass cemetery where hundreds of victims of the Sabra and Shatila massacres have been laid to rest near the camps. Palestinian refugees from the two camps held a burial ceremony for the dead Palestinians.

April 5, 1984

MILITARY STONED IN BETHLEHEM

An Israeli army patrol was stoned as it drove through the city of Bethlehem. Its windows were damaged. No one was hurt in the attack.

According to *Al Hamishmar*, an unknown person ambushed the patrol from inside a shop in the city. When the vehicle came close to the shop, the unidentified person stoned it and ran away. An investigation is underway by the military.

LITANI WATER ISSUE CONFIRMED

BEIRUT — Foreign correspondents in south Lebanon confirmed Lebanese reports that Israel is planning to divert millions of cubic metres from the Litani River to the Sea of Galilee. The correspondents said they saw several projects near the Litani River intended to divert its flow of water.

SETTLERS KIDNAP PALESTINIAN

NABLUS — Settlers in the Nablus area kidnapped a Palestinian resident of Nablus, Mansour Qassem, 18, from the village of Bourin, while he was walking in a main street in the city.

An eyewitness said he saw the settlers kidnap the youth and he immediately went and told the youth's family. The military governor's office was notified of the incident. The youth was returned to his family more than an hour later. Qassem said the settlers left him in the Qousin village, near Nablus.

TAXES RAID MUSRARAH SHOPS

JERUSALEM — Tax officials

continued their surprise raids on Arab shops in the Musrarah area in Jerusalem for the second day in a row. Several merchants were ordered to pay heavy taxes amounting to IS16 million. One merchant, Salim Rashq, was ordered to pay IS27 million and another, Barakah Abu Rmeileh, was told to pay IS58 million.

BOMB DETONATED SAFELY

BETHLEHEM — A bomb discovered in front of Bethlehem police station was safely detonated by a special bomb squad.

BEIT SAHOUR UNDER FIRE

BEIT SAHOUR — Shots were fired at an Arab house in a Beit Sahour neighborhood. Some bullets penetrated the children's room in the Tawil residence but did not hit anyone.

April 6, 1984

KATYUSHA LAUNCHER DISCOVERED

A Katyusha rocket launcher was discovered last week near Khurbet Salim village in south Lebanon, 10 kilometres west of Kiryat Shemoneh (Khalsah) settlement, Israel Radio said.

The radio said soldiers in the UN Finnish contingent working in south Lebanon discovered the launcher and dismantled it.

GAZA STUDENTS SENTENCED

GAZA — Eighteen students from Gaza were fined between IS35,000—IS50,000 and given three-month suspended sentences on charges of demonstrating on Land Day.

NEWSPAPER RECEIVES THREATS

TEL AVIV — *Al Hamishmar* newspaper said it received three phone calls threatening to set the editorial offices on fire if the paper does not stop writing against the Likud and Ariel Sharon. The callers said they belong to the Kach movement.

THOWRI CLUB OPENS NEW BUILDING

JERUSALEM - Inauguration ceremonies were held as the Thowri Youth Club opened its new offices in Jerusalem. Club dance troupes and artists performed. Representatives of local clubs and committees in the West Bank attended the ceremony.

SHOP ALLOWED TO REOPEN

JENIN — Chairperson of the Jenin Chamber of Commerce Fathi Fahmawi was allowed by the military to reopen his four stores ordered shut last Thursday under the pretext of non-payment of taxes.

The Musrarah area of Jerusalem. Tax officials stepped up surprise tax raids on Arab merchants in the area. Barakah Abu Rmeileh was ordered to pay IS58 million, April 5/ AO photo

CAR SET ON FIRE

BEIT JALA — Unknown individuals set fire to a car owned by maverick journalist Jamil Hamad, from Bethlehem. The car was destroyed.

NEW SETTLEMENT NEAR NABLUS

NABLUS — About 30 pre-fab buildings were moved to a hill in the Arab village of Rujib, near Nablus. The buildings form the nucleus of a new settlement called Tel Haim, an extension of Elon Moreh settlement.

PATROL STONED

GAZA — Youths from the village of Abassan stoned an Israeli army patrol after the vehicles ran down a village youth. The soldiers returned an hour later and started beating everyone in the street, particularly women, *Al Ittihad* reported. Several people were arrested.

WAQF ORDERED TO STOP BUILDING

JERUSALEM — The Jerusalem municipality ordered the Muslim *waqf* to stop work on a new Islamic centre on the Mount of Olives. The building is nearly completed.

STUDY ON DEIR YASSIN

JERUSALEM — A study called *Deir Yassin Will Not Be Forgotten* was published by the Arab Studies Centre in Jerusalem. The study, written by *Al Ittihad* journalist Walid Yasin, is the first attempt of its kind to document the massacre in the Palestinian village of Deir Yassin committed by Zionist terrorists on April 9, 1948 where 248 Arab men, women and children died.

April 7, 1984

DIC MEETS

SHAFA 'AMR — The Druze Initiative Committee called for Israel to recognise Palestinian rights and withdraw from all occupied Arab lands at its third conference meeting in Shafa 'Amr. They also called for the cancellation of compulsory military service and all town arrest orders against Arabs in the Galilee and the Triangle.

GENERATOR BURNT

BATIR — Fire broke out in a high voltage electric transformer. The transformer supplies electricity to settlements in the Kfar Etzion region. Investigations are underway to find the reason for the fire.

GAZAN ACCUSED OF SOLDIERS' DEATH

A 21-year-old youth from Gaza was arrested on suspicion of driving a car that hit and killed three Israeli soldiers earlier last week. The hit-and-run incident occurred on the highway to Askalan.

SERVICE FOR DEAD COMMANDO

BEIRUT — A memorial service was held at Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in West Beirut in honour of Palestinian commando 'Abu Rabi,' killed during an armed attack on King George Street, Jerusalem, last Monday.

FIRE DESTROYS TULKARM CINEMA

TULKARM — Al-Farid Cinema in Tulkarm burned for an hour before a fire truck arrived from Nablus, 30 kilometres southeast. The fire was prevented from spreading to nearby homes, already evacuated, as the fire destroyed everything in the theatre. Damage due to the fire was estimated at JD50,000.

Tulkarm residents have been complaining that their city does not have a fire truck.

April 8, 1984

FIREBOMBS IN WEST BANK

Two firebombs were thrown at military vehicles in two different locations in the West Bank, Israel Radio reported. One bomb was thrown at an army patrol in Nur Shams refugee camp, near Tulkarm, and the other in Arroub camp, near Hebron. The radio claimed both bombs missed their target.

JAILED FOR SUPPORTING PLO

An Arrabeh youth, Muni Said Daid Kana'ana, was sentenced to an 18-month prison term after he was convicted of 'supporting the PLO' during demonstrations in Sakhnin on last year's first anniversary of the Sabra and Shatila massacres, Israel Radio said. Kana'ana was also fined IS50,000 by the Acre magistrates court for the same charge.

DARWISH CHAIRPERSON OF WRITERS UNION

NORTH YEMEN — Palestinian poet Mahmoud Darwish was elected chairperson at a meeting of the Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists, meeting in Sana'a. The union, which concluded its fourth session Saturday, decided to move its headquarters from Damascus to Tunis.

SETTLERS STONE ARAB CAR

JERUSALEM — Israelis stoned a car driven by Jaisier Shabaneh as it passed near French Hill settlement in Jerusalem, breaking the front and back windows. An Arab-owned bus was stoned last week in the same spot. No action was taken against the settlers.

April 9, 1984

TREES UPROOTED

BEIT UMMAR — Settlers are believed to be behind the destruction of vineyards owned by three families in Beit Ummar village.

KATYUSHA NEAR ISRAELI SETTLEMENT

TEL AVIV - An Israeli military source said a Katyusha rocket recently fell near Tel Katzin settlement, on the borders of the Golan Heights. The source said the rocket was launched from Syrian territory.

A communique from a Palestinian organiation said last week that it shelled an Israeli settlement near Tiberias.

JABALYA RESIDENTS ATTACKED

Residents of Jabalya refugee camp, near Gaza, were assaulted by Israeli soldiers as they attempted to arrest teacher A'aish Abu Sa'ada. The army returned the next day to search Abu Sa'ada's house but met with resistance from the residents, who stoned the soldiers.

TOWN ARREST

SAKHIN — A second six-month town arrest order was imposed on Mohammed Awad Abu Rayya, from Sakhin. The order, effective April 5, bans Abu Rayya from leaving his home at night and his village all day. He has to appear at the police station in the village three times a day.

April 10, 1984

NAJAH STUDENTS HARASSED

Twenty-eight students and three teachers from Najah University were detained at military headquarters all day, Israel Radio said. The group was arrested at a checkpost as they left for a field trip near Haifa. No reason was given for their detention. They were released at the end of the day.

RAMALLAH GRENADE ATTACK

An Israeli military spokesman said a hand grenade was thrown at an army patrol travelling near Ofra settlement, near Ramallah. The spokesman claimed the grenade did not explode.

NEW SETTLEMENTS

The Knesset Settlement Committee approved the establishment of four new settlements in the Nablus area.

ROAD OPPOSED

RAMALLAH - Village councils in the Ramallah district protested a military government plan to open a 200-metre-wide road that would pass through agricultural and residential areas of three villages. The protestors from Taibeh, Ramon and Deir Jarir, asked the authorities to reconsider this plan which they fear would obstruct the development of their villages and harm nearby farm land.

Opening ceremony at the Thowri Youth Club which was inaugurated April 6 in Jerusalem. Representatives of local clubs and committees joined in the celebration/ AO photo

Social Convention Divides Freedom Fighter From Terrorist

by Orly Raffman

Under the tendentious title "Terrorists or Freedom Fighters' a conference organised by the Jewish Agency took place in Jerusalem in mid-February. During two days of discussions and lectures, the speakers, Israelis and guest-lecturers from abroad, tried to 'prove' that the distinction included in the title is relevant, or in other words: ETZEL and LEHI (pre-State of Israel Zionist undergrounds) may be defined as freedom fighters while the PLO is a terrorist organisation.

Dr. Ariel Marari, who is the head of the Terror Project in the Strategic Studies Centre at Tel Aviv University, didn't speak at the conference. This is somewhat strange since this centre is considered a world leader on the study of terror. "It doesn't seem to me sensible that the state of Israel organises a conference to prove that ETZEL and LEHI were freedom fighters and the PLO is terroristic, therefore we *kosher*, and them abominable. It should have been assured there would be intelligent people there," he said.

Marari calls the conference a "fools conference" or "an appointed conference." When he was aproached and asked to participate, he told those asking him to either cancel the conference or change its title. "They should not try to prove, in such a blatant way, something that in my opinion is impossible," he said.

Marari started his career as a psychologist. Following the October 1973 war he oriented towards psychological warfare and terror and today he is also head of the psychology department. In his department office he is not so happy with the question of why he didn't stand up at the conference and give his opinion: "I had two considerations. I thought it wouldn't help, because the business was biased; and I am a Zionist — perhaps if I spoke up I would sabotage the Israeli interest. I didn't wish to do this."

Why is it impossible to distinguish between freedom fighters and terrorists? "The only way to define terror is the technical way: a terrorist organisation is a group of people which is not a state (but may be in the service of a state or have connections with a state) that uses violence systematically in order to achieve political aims," said Marari.

Aren't the aims and the moral standpoint of the organisation relevant? "Whoever wishes to determine terror according to its aims enters a tremendous swamp," he added, "because then everything depends on the definition of what is just and what is moral, things about which there are no definite criteria. Morals, in my opinion, are a matter of social convention. When ETZEL and LEHI were active with us, most of the Jewish public in the country thought it was 'moral to kill the British — in certain conditions,' but the people of Britain didn't think so. Today it's an opposite situation. In the view of most Israelis the PLO is an immoral phenomenon. But ask the Palestinians — in their view and also in the view of some Jews and good Zionists, the struggle of the PLO is moral."

What about the difference in the nature of activity? Freedom fighters, it was said in the conference, are fastidious and cautious: they would kill a British policeman but not a British woman. "Factually, this is untrue," says Marari. "ETZEL and LEHI men put bombs in coffee houses. Even if usually members of Arab gangs sat there this is still not a fastidious act; certainly it is not fastidious to roll booby-trapped barrels in Haifa from Hadar (Jewish quarter on the mountain — tr.) to the (Arab) downtown. This was also done. Besides this, every army that bombards, if it acts according to the Geneva Conventions, doesn't hit only fighters. Many more women and children were killed in conventional wars, including the war in Lebanon, than in terrorist acts. And why, from the principled moral aspect, is it more moral to kill a 17-and-a-half-year-old boy than to kill him at 18 in uniform? The Geneva Conventions are not the last word on the philosophy of morals."

Professor Ray S. Klein, from Georgetown University, USA, presented a stand at the conference that the USA differs from the Soviets since the forces it backs are fighting for their own freedom while the Soviets activate others for the sake of Soviet interests. In Marari's view: "This is a pure hypocrisy. All I would conclude from such a statement is that the Americans are much less efficient than the Soviets in the use of terror, and this is true. It would be worth their while to learn a few things if they want to survive in this wild world."

Marari's technical approach to terror doesn't disturb him and perhaps even eases him when relating to the Palestinian-Israeli problem. "The fact that, in my opinion, there is no sharp distinction between ETZEL and LEHI and the PLO from the morality aspect doesn't stop me wanting to annihilate the PLO, and with pleasure," he says. "Why? Because the PLO never has stopped speaking of a secular democratic state. And that means — to take my state. Unlike the struggle between Algeria and France, there's a war here for the same territory. This is a war for existence which I'm not prepared to relate to in terms of justice. This would be like asking whether it is moral that a lion eats a zebra. Is it moral or not? This is idle chatter." Here national affiliation splits academic lines. And when speaking about ourselves, academic objectivity lifts its hat. "Therefore, what should have been done was a war in Lebanon-plus," he stated, "to hit the PLO seriously and in parallel to undertake a political alternative. The total annihilation of terror is impossible this way."

Ariel Marari: "The Geneva Conventions are not the last word on the philosophy of morals."

With the same and even more brazenness, Marari speaks of the 'Terror Against Terror' underground group TNT. They are a terror group by every definition, he says, and its members should be dealt with in the same way as terrorists from Nablus, or even worse. "I'm afraid of the affect of Palestinian terror but I'm much more afraid of Jewish terror. Presently TNT is two little groups but the results of a recent survey — showing 18.7 percent of the young adult population supports such activity — are much more severe. Let's say that the Labour Alignment comes to power and finds some arrangements relating to the occupied territories. I don't want to think about what might happen." (Translation: Ha'Ir, March 30, 1984).

The Mossad in Lebanon

by Ya'acov Kruz

Last week the French newspaper *Liberation* published an interview with Zvi Malhin who was described as a former "general in the Mossad" and close to minister Ariel Sharon. The person interviewed, as his words appeared in the Parisian daily, harshly attacked the Mossad and stated that it bears the main responsibility for the complicity in Lebanon. This week Malhin denied that he had granted any interview and claimed that the words alleged as being his were uttered at a social encounter which the newspaper's correspondent in Israel apparently attended.

The truth is that there is no innovation in the attack because the things included in it have been published more than once in the media since the Kahan Committee ended its work and published its conclusions and recommendations about the Phalangist massacres at Sabra and Shatila. The general issue of contact with the Phalangists — for which the Mossad was responsible — was a background to the events but was not a subject of the committee's investigation. The Mossad was not found guilty of anything because the person heading it was not questioned and therefore couldn't express his view on the decision to let the Phalangists enter the camps; he heard about it only after it took place. On the other hand, certain personalities from political and military circles were damaged following the steps recommended by the committee.

It was at this stage that the Intelligence and Special Tasks Institution (Mossad) became a target for attacks in the media and was accused of responsibility for the war in Lebanon. The arrows that were shot into it were always the same. It is reasonable to assume that those shooting the arrows (were these same politicians and army officers). The reason is based, it seems, in the bitterness and frustration created among them following the recommendations of the Kahan Committee.

The connection with the Phalangists started on their initiative in 1976. It was part of the Mossad's efforts to create connections with the various sectors in Lebanon. Three other Christian groups also contacted Israel. The Shi'ites and the Druze didn't initiate such contact. The attempts to contact the former — apart for the Shi'ites in south Lebanon who were under the treatment (sic) of the Israeli army — failed. The possibility of a connection with Walid Jumblatt, who acted in partnership with the (Palestinians) and the Syrians, did look as promising in those years. The aim of contacting the Phalangists — apart from the importance of contact with a major organisation in an Arab country — was twofold: one, to obtain their help and information, mainly about the various (Palestinian) groups and what is happening within them — their actions and plans; and second, to help the Phalangists in their fight against the (Palestinians), according to the maxim that the enemies of your enemies are your friends and on the assumption that occupying the (Palestinian) organisations with struggles in Lebanon would decrease their power of sabotage in Israel.

After some time the Phalangists were given three promises that were confirmed to them by two prime ministers — first Yitzhak Rabin and afterwards Menachem Begin. It was promised that Israel would help them with arms and training but explicitly would not fight for them; along with this, it would not let their enemies annihilate them and would stop them being attacked by the Syrian airforce. The Mossad never recommended making these promises.

From the point of view of the real power of the Phalangists, no one entertained vain expectations. Their regular units — not just gunmen — were no more than about 2000 fighters. The Israeli army — who trained them — knew them very well. Furthermore, the Mossad never raised the hope that they would be prepared to fight for Israel because it was clear that apart from their weakness, their interests ran counter to this. As part of Lebanon, which is, after all, an Arab country, they couldn't permit themselves to fight with the Jews against Arabs.

In the Mossad's view, the situation was also similar on the political front. Thus, for example, it considered then Prime Minister Menachem Begin's meeting with (Bashir) Gemayel in Nahariya, after he was elected president, as tragic. There was no doubt that Bashir would not be able to accede, as Begin demanded, to sign a peace treaty with Israel in December 1982. He wanted to be president of all Lebanon, of all its factions, sects and streams, and he was unable to make such a move. When 'the big plan' for a war in Lebanon was brought up for discussion, the Mossad's head was among those objecting. At meetings with Bashir and his men organised by the Mossad, (ex-defence minister Ariel) Sharon, (ex-chief of staff Raphael) Raful (Eitan) and (ex-head of the northern command) Avigdor Ben Gal used to see them behind closed doors and the impression was created that pledges were given that extended government promises. Perhaps this is why the Phalangists aired claims after a while that Israeli commitments were not respected and maintained. True or not, Israel did not go to war because of or for the Phalangists; the aims of the war-planners and of those who decided on it were to annihilate the PLO; the aims of the Christians in Lebanon were different — they wanted to get rid of the Syrians.

Given all this, there is nothing new in the attack in *Liberation* on the Mossad. It raised waves because of two reasons: because of the 'source,' who was presented as a 'general' in the Mossad who should know what he is talking about, and the sad impression that a former Mossad-man discloses secrets that he obtained in office. (Translation: Yediot Aharanot, March 16, 1984).